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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

SLAVERY IN BRITISH PROTECTORATES.

Zanzibar.

THE attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has been specially directed to the public scandal caused by the recognition of Slavery, as a legal institution, in Zanzibar, which is now a British Protectorate. The policy at present pursued by the Foreign Office is a retrograde one, and we commend the subject to the thoughtful study of the Anti-Slavery public of Great Britain. The letters from the Society to LORD ROSEBERY, and the various questions and answers in Parliament, printed below, will enable our readers to grasp the points of this important question, without difficulty.

The following additional memorial has been forwarded to LORD ROSEBERY by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

November 14th, 1893.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., &c.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's letter of 17th October, in reply to one from this Society, calling attention to Clause IV. in the recent Proclamation issued by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR respecting the institution of Slavery in the territories lying between the Tana and the Juba rivers.

I am now directed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to record their opinion that the issuing of this Proclamation is, so far as concerns the institution of Slavery, a retrograde policy, inasmuch as it places the Slaves in that territory in a worse position than they were in before they were handed over to the rule of the SULTAN. In stating this fact, I am desirous to call your Lordship's attention to the previous agreements made respecting the territory.

In July, 1890, an agreement was entered into between the British and German Governments, by which Germany withdrew in favour of Great Britain, her protectorate over Witu and the adjoining coast as far as Kismayu, as well as her claims to all other territories on the mainland, to the north of the River Tana, and to the islands of Patta and Manda.

On the 5th March, 1891, by an agreement made between HER MAJESTY'S Government and Imperial British East African Company, the Company assumed the direct charge of the territory known as the Sultanate of Witu, as also the continuous coast line from Kipini to Kismayu.

In article I. of this agreement it is stated that "the judicial administration of the territory shall be in accordance with the procedure and provisions of the Indian Civil and Criminal Code." This Code declares (Section 370, relating to Slavery) that any person who "accepts, receives, or *detains against his will, any person as a Slave*, shall be punished with imprisonment, &c." Whether any attempt was made to carry out the provisions of the Indian Code with respect to Slavery, the Committee have no information.

By a subsequent agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the Imperial British East African Company, with the representatives of the people of Witu, on March 18th, 1891, it would appear that Her Majesty's Government, in continuation of its former policy with regard to Slavery in British Protectorates, and in conformity with the Indian Penal Code, above quoted, insisted upon a declaration that the Status of Slavery should be abolished, and should no longer be recognised.

Article VI. of this Agreement contains a Declaration respecting Slavery, by the first clause of which "the Status of Slavery is declared to be abolished, and no longer to be recognised;" but by a second clause, which follows, and is apparently an afterthought, the actual process of liberation is deferred for five years.

In the opinion of the Committee the second paragraph, above referred to, is of no value, and is irrelevant, for by the abolition of the Status of Slavery in paragraph I. which was to take effect immediately, any Slave had the power of setting himself free, under the Indian Penal Code, declared to be in force in the territory in question.

The following is a copy of Article VI., referred to:—

Agreement entered into between

- (1.) MR. ERNEST J. L. BERKELEY, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Zanzibar.
- (2.) MR. GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, Director, Imperial British East Africa Company.
- (3.) The undersigned representatives of the people of Witu, at Jongeni, in the territory of Witu, on March 18th, 1891.

(I.)

The notables and people of Witu being aware of and desirous to support the efforts that have continuously been made by her Majesty's Government and by the British company to suppress the Slave-trade and Slavery in East

Africa, do hereby freely and solemnly pledge themselves henceforth to have no dealings of any kind or description with the Slave-trade, and to use their best endeavours to suppress and obstruct it. They further engage and declare that from this day forth all the inhabitants of Witu are free ; and that in the Province of Witu the Status of Slavery is abolished, and shall no longer be recognised, but all the aforesaid inhabitants of Witu are now British-protected persons, and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges appertaining to such persons. And the British Imperial East Africa Company will use their best endeavours to ensure that while this provision regarding the freedom of all Witu subjects is put into full and legitimate execution, it shall not in any way injuriously affect the lawful rights of the subjects of His Highness the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, resident in Lamu and the territories adjoining the Province of Witu.

(II.)

But regarding the general emancipation of Slaves above referred to, it is agreed, with a view to prevent an immediate and heavy loss to the owners of plantations, shambas, etc., at present worked solely by Slave labour, to defer the actual process of liberating *bond fide* Slaves thus employed, for a period of five years ; the Slaves, nevertheless, retaining the usual right to purchase their freedom by mutual consent at any time. The total abolition of Slavery throughout the Province of Witu is fixed to take place, finally and absolutely, on the 24th May, 1896.

The Committee now have to submit to your Lordship the very changed aspect of affairs since Her Majesty's Government have taken over from the Imperial British East Africa Company the administration of the above-named territories, and have allowed his Highness the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR to issue provisional regulations, which ignore the former pledge given by the notables and peoples of Witu that from March 18th, 1891, "all the inhabitants of Witu are free" . . . and "are now British-protected persons, and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges appertaining to such persons."

The Committee are aware that the Regulations recently issued by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR are said to be provisional, but inasmuch as they practically revoke all former agreements with respect to slavery, and remit the people, already declared to be free, into their former condition of servitude, they would earnestly entreat your Lordship to take steps for providing for the abolition of the status of slavery throughout the whole of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. Had such a benefit been instituted previous to the transactions above referred to, it is clear that the startling anomaly against which it is the painful duty of the Committee to enter their strongest protest could not have happened. As the case now stands, the slaves of Witu were :—

- (1.) Made absolutely free by agreement.
- (2.) They were then informed by a subsequent clause that their emancipation, out of consideration for their masters, must be deferred for five years, but with leave to purchase their freedom in the interval. The last stage

(3.) Finds them placed by her Majesty's Government in the power of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, though under British protection, with this difference, that the five years' promise is cancelled, no definite chance of freedom is held out to them, and they are now absolutely precluded even from redeeming themselves by purchase.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,

Your LORDSHIP'S faithful Servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

Secretary.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *December 4, 1893.*

SIR,—I am directed by the EARL OF ROSEBURY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo respecting Slavery in Witu.

I am to observe that the first Article of the Agreement of the 5th of March, 1891, concluded between Sir C. E. SMITH, then Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, and Mr. G. MACKENZIE on behalf of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which is referred to as providing for the judicial administration of the territory in accordance with the procedure and provisions of the Indian Civil and Criminal Code, applies to non-natives alone. Justice to the natives is not administered under that code.

With regard to the further agreement of the 18th of the same month, to which you also allude, I am to observe that the sixth Article must be read as a whole. Its intention was, while recording the assent of the Witu chiefs and people to the principle of the repression of the Slave-trade and the abolition of the status of Slavery, to defer the total abolition of Slavery till the 24th of May, 1896.

A proclamation of immediate abolition would, in the existing state of the country, have remained a dead letter, or would have had to be enforced by military operations, the result of which, considering the limited resources of the Company, would have been doubtful.

Long before the expiration of the term of five years referred to in the Agreement, the Chartered Company retired from Witu; it was clear to Her Majesty's Government before its retirement that the chiefs and natives, instead of obeying the humane regulations to which they had agreed, were openly defying the administration. This resistance has now been suppressed by force, and it is hoped that a better state of things has been inaugurated.

Her Majesty's Representative has had to consider how far in the direction of the control of abuses he can go with a reasonable prospect of being able to obtain obedience. In consultation with those whose local knowledge best fitted them to advise upon the subject, and after careful consideration, he has drawn up a scheme for the temporary administration of the district, which has been approved by Her Majesty's Government.

Under this scheme the 1891 arrangement respecting Slavery has been modified. The modification in no way repudiates the principle previously proclaimed; but in order to secure the working of the scheme it was essential that it should be adapted to the conditions of a country which is not sufficiently civilised to admit of a sudden revolution in its social system. If this tentative measure should be successful a further advance may be made when the situation is favourable for more comprehensive measures.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THE SECRETARY,

(Signed) P. W. CURRIE.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

EDITORIAL OF *The Times*, NOVEMBER 28TH.

"It is a curious anomaly in the history of the extension of British influence in Africa that there should be occasion at this stage of its development for a memorial to be addressed to Her Majesty's Government praying it to reconsider a policy of which the effect has been to re-enslave a considerable native population of freedmen. Yet such is the position disclosed in the further memorial addressed by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to LORD ROSEBERY. It is the provisional result of the elaborate exchanges and re-arrangement of territories which has been taking place during the last five years on the East African coast. The Sultanate of Witu which was taken over from Germany under the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, was at the time a hot-bed of turbulence and disorder, with which it was difficult to deal. The local chieftain did not recognise the sovereignty of Zanzibar, and, instead of being included in the Protectorate of Zanzibar assumed by Great Britain, his territory was placed under the direct rule of the East Africa Company. By an agreement of March, 1891, signed by the local chief and notables of Witu on the one hand, and the representative of the Company on the other, provision was made for the administration of the territory under the Indian Code, and for the abolition of the legal *status* of Slavery throughout its limits. Out of consideration for existing Slave owners the operation of the latter provision was extended over a period of five years, and the 24th May, 1896, was fixed as the day upon which every Slave in Witu should be emancipated. In the meantime, Slaves had the usual power to purchase their own freedom. Subsequent events compelled the Company to renounce its jurisdiction over the district, and on the 1st August of this year a fresh arrangement was entered into by which Witu was included in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. It might have been anticipated that, in thus passing from the jurisdiction of a company to the jurisdiction of the British Government, the native population would have had nothing to lose in the system by which it was governed. As a matter of fact, the contrary is the case. A comparison of the Agreement of 1891, with the provisional regulations issued by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR for the administration of the country in 1893 leads to the inevitable conclusion that the latter document abrogates the most important rights and privileges which were conferred by

the former. The legal status of Slavery, which had been abolished, is virtually restored. The prospect of complete emancipation in three years has disappeared. The territory, which was placed by the Agreement of the Company under our Indian Code, is now administered under Mahomedan law. The final appeal from the judgment of the local Kadis is not to HER MAJESTY, but to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR. The system of administration initiated by the provisional regulations, whether it be considered in its relation to commerce, to justice, or to liberty, is a retrogression from the system established by the agreement of 1891.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Government should have committed itself to such a step. If there is a point upon which all parties are agreed with regard to our policy in Africa it is that the nation stands deeply pledged to the extinction of Slavery. The measures taken by the East Africa Company in this direction count among the most serious claims that the Company has established upon public sympathy, and the first expectation that will be entertained of the Power that replaces it, whoever or whatever that Power may be, is that it shall continue the work that has been begun. The protest which the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has felt it to be its "painful duty" to make, will be echoed by the public opinion of the country. We have taken our place in Europe as a liberating Power. We have not hesitated to condemn other nations when there has been reason to suspect that, through inadvertence or indifference, the protection of their flag has been allowed to cover any encouragement of Slavery; and that a British Government, having full knowledge of the circumstances, should consent to put back into an enslaved condition a population which had already attained its freedom, constitutes so extraordinary a departure from national precedent that it is at first difficult to believe. The only reason which has been given for the arrangement is the excuse common to all shortcoming—that it is convenient. It will probably be urged that under the jurisdiction of the Company the provisions of their agreement were inoperative, that the application of the present regulations is temporary, and that the existing arrangement has been accepted only in consequence of the necessity of providing for the administration of Witu pending the final settlement of the mainland. But no temporary pressure need have prevented the passing of regulations more in accordance with the legitimate requirements of English opinion. Our position in Zanzibar surely gives us the power to have made such provision as we thought fit for the administration of a province which we placed by our own act within the jurisdiction of the Sultan. If it does not, and if the provisional regulations for the administration of Witu are to be accepted as a sample of the permanent administration which it is proposed to establish over the portions of our East African Protectorate which are to be dealt with through Zanzibar, it cannot be too soon or too strongly said that either the legal status of Slavery must be abolished in Zanzibar, or the jurisdiction of a Mohammedan Sovereign must

be prevented from extending to territories which have once enjoyed the privilege of British rule."

Parliamentary.

A number of questions relating to Slavery in British Protectorates were asked in the House of Commons, and with their answers are appended hereto.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

November 30th, 1893.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

MR. J. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of her Majesty's Government had been called to the alleged recent issue by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR of a proclamation providing that Slaves in the British Protectorate lying between the rivers Tana and Juba, including the territory of Witu, might be inherited by the lawful children of the present owners, whereas, by an agreement made between the British Government, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the notables of Witu, all the inhabitants of Witu were declared to be free, the status of Slavery abolished, and the judicial administration to be in accordance with the Indian Civil and Criminal Code; whether the Indian Code punished with imprisonment or fine those who detained against his will any person as a Slave; whether the Government were taking steps for the immediate abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and all other British Protectorates; and whether there would be laid upon the table of the House all correspondence relating to this matter.

SIR E. GREY.—We are aware of the proclamation, but experience has shown that the execution of the agreement is at present impracticable. In the opinion of her Majesty's representative the armed resistance which has been opposed by the natives to the British administration of Witu has been in a great measure due to it. Consequently, it has been provisionally modified. The effect of the Indian Code is correctly stated, but natives of Witu, not being British subjects, are not affected by that Code, under which the company, according to the agreement, was to administer justice as regards persons legally justiciable. No steps are being taken for immediate abolition of the status of Slavery in the dominions of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and recent experience has shown that an attempt to insist upon the emancipation of domestic Slaves in Zanzibar would be attended with great disturbance and bloodshed. It is therefore advisable for the present to concentrate all effort upon the effectual prohibition of the Slave-trade, and this is being done. In answer to the last paragraph of the question, I have to say that papers will be laid.

Mr. PEASE asked whether in the opinion of the Government the proclamation did not practically revoke the agreement previously entered into between Her Majesty's Government, the East Africa Company, and the representatives of Witu.

Sir E. GREY said the proclamation did not really revoke the agreement, but it modified it. It should be borne in mind that the agreement had never been enforced.

Sir C. DILKE asked whether in his recent book Captain LUGARD had not said that in his opinion and that of Sir JOHN KIRK, the highest authority on the subject, the time had come when the Indian Code might be introduced at Zanzibar, and that its non-introduction there was the cause of the continuance of the Slave-trade.

Sir E. GREY said he had been told that that statement was in Captain LUGARD'S book, but he had not yet seen it. In all those questions the abolition of the status of Slavery must depend on the development of the country. At Zanzibar there was a proclamation that all children born after a certain date should be free. Therefore, before many years, Slavery there must come to an end.

December 8th.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

Mr. T. BAYLEY asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether, when we took over the Protectorate of Zanzibar, the Government issued an edict, dated 1st August, 1890, which would have at once improved the position of the Slaves, and would have in course of time practically put an end to domestic Slavery; whether this was superseded by a virtually secret proclamation, dated twenty days later, which annulled some of its most important clauses; whether the Act had ever been put in force so that a single Slave had gained his freedom in respect of this Act; whether, at the present time, Slaves were employed to coal our men-of-war at Zanzibar (vessels engaged in the suppression of the Slave-trade); and whether the money paid by the Government to the masters of these Slaves was spent by them in buying Slaves to cultivate their plantations.

Sir E. GREY said:—The proclamation of August 1st, 1890, contained nine clauses. It confirmed old decrees, among which was that proclaiming the freedom of all children born on and after January 1st, 1890. It decreed the freedom of Slaves of owners dying childless, and of those held by certain ex-Slaves. It declared the inability of certain persons to hold Slaves, and made provision for liberation in cases of flagrant cruelty. It established severe penalties for traffic of any description in domestic or other Slaves, and it enabled Slaves to plead or prosecute before the cadis. It also provided that Slaves should have the right to buy their freedom at a price to be fixed by the Sultan and his Arab subjects. This last provision only was dealt with in the later decree of August 20th, which explained that the assent of the owner was necessary. We are informed that the issue of the second decree was due

to the misapprehension of the purport of the clause among both owners and Slaves. Many Slaves have been freed under the proclamation. Slaves are employed with free men in harbour work, and consequently in coaling men-of-war. Their wages are paid to them direct, not in any case to their owners. Owners could only purchase Slaves at great risk of detection and punishment, especially as the machinery of the Slave Trade Bureau is now in operation.

Sir C. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was the case that, until recently, in assuming the Protectorate of countries in which Slavery had previously existed, her Majesty's Government had cleared themselves from the stigma of recognising the legal status of Slavery; whether this policy had been carried out in India, West Africa, Cyprus and the Malay Peninsula; whether before the establishment of a British Protectorate in Zanzibar, her Majesty's Government had taken every opportunity to urge on the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR the importance of ignoring Slavery as a status recognised by law; whether Sir JOHN KIRK had always urged the non-recognition of Slavery as a status known to the law as being a policy essential to prosperity in East Africa; whether the policy of LORD GRANVILLE in this respect was continued by the declarations of LORD SALISBURY as late as 1889; and whether the recent abstention from action in the same direction in East Africa since the assumption and extension of the Zanzibar Protectorate constituted a breach of the permanent policy of the country.

Sir E. GREY said:—The precedents quoted refer, except in the case of Cyprus, to cases in which natives are subject to British-made laws, as in India and in our West African and Malay colonies. This is not the case in Zanzibar, where natives are under Mohammedan law, which recognises the legal status of Slavery. If Sir J. KIRK's opinion be as stated—namely, that he had always urged the non-recognition of Slavery as a status known to the law as being essential to the prosperity of East Africa, it would be tantamount to urging a closer connection between Great Britain and Zanzibar. We have no knowledge that the policy, which has been that of the suppression of the Slave-trade, and the gradual extinction of Slavery, has ever undergone a change. It is the opinion of all who know the country that extinction of Slavery at an early date must be the result of the decrees of 1890. The traffic in and sale of Slaves is absolutely prohibited; all children of Slaves born after a certain date in 1890 are declared free; every person entering the Sultan's dominions from outside is free; and it must be obvious that these three provisions alone, which are strictly enforced, provide for the complete extinction of Slavery within a very few years. As a matter of fact, the number of Slaves in Zanzibar has been so diminished already that some parts of the clove plantations are going out of cultivation.

December 14th.

THE PROVINCE OF WITU.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether her Majesty's Government made the Indian Code applicable to the

province of Witu when it was handed over to the Imperial British East Africa Company's administration in March, 1891; and whether now, when Her Majesty's Government had itself to carry out a policy, Witu, which had by international agreement been constituted a British Protectorate, had been recently brought under the jurisdiction of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, the province being thus again placed under Mohammedan law, and recognition being given to the status of Slavery.

Sir E. GREY.—The judicial powers of the Company in Witu were exercised under the Africa Order in Council of 1889. The agreement of March 5th, 1891, stipulated that the Indian Code should govern procedure under the Order, because the persons affected would be principally British Indian subjects. Justice to natives of Witu in Witu is not administered under British Orders in Council, which do not concern them, but under native law and custom. No change whatever has been made in this respect since the withdrawal of the Company's administration.

Mr. PEASE asked whether Her Majesty's Government asserted that they were unable to apply the Indian Code to natives, resident in a British Protectorate, whom they did not consider to be British subjects.

Sir EDWARD GREY replied that the Foreign Office had no experience that such a course had ever been taken.

Sir CHARLES DILKE and Sir JOHN GORST tried to obtain further statements as to whether such a course could be taken, and Sir CHARLES DILKE quoted a case of the Colonial Office in which he suggested such a course had been taken.

Sir EDWARD GREY replied that he was not aware of the fact, and could only speak as to the experience of the Foreign Office.

SLAVE-TRADE IN MALAGASY WATERS.

Sir C. DILKE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, with reference to statements implying that, by her recognition of a protectorate of France over Madagascar taken in connection with the Brussels Act, Great Britain had lost all power of search of Malagasy or Arab vessels suspected of being engaged in the Slave-trade in the territorial waters of Madagascar, and of dealing with such vessels and their crews as though engaged in piratical undertakings, and that the instructions framed by the late Government to naval officers informed them that they had now no power to search vessels in the territorial waters of Madagascar, it was not the case that the instructions of 1892 were those referred to; whether the instructions for the guidance of the captains and commanding officers of Her Majesty's ships of war employed in the suppression of the Slave-trade issued in 1892 stated, in regard to the territorial waters of Madagascar, which were included in the Slave-trade maritime zone defined by the Brussels Act, that the provisions of the Brussels Act and of all pre-existing treaties and conventions for the suppression of the Slave-trade remained in force in spite of the Anglo-French agreement about Madagascar; whether that statement by the

Admiralty was correct ; whether the abstention, in practice, at the direction of the Admiralty, of British officers from acting on the provisions of the Brussels Act and of treaties in the territorial waters of Madagascar was a voluntary abstention based on a suggestion by the Foreign Office, rather than a treaty obligation ; and why, under those circumstances, Admiral KENNEDY should have been allowed to pay compensation to the owners of dhows seized by her Majesty's gunboat *Redbreast* before those instructions were received.

Sir E. GREY.—If the question refers to an answer given by me last February, it is the case that the instructions mentioned are those of 1892. These instructions refer to the treaty engagements of Madagascar as still subsisting, but they also direct officers to act in conformity with the Brussels Act, Article XCVI. of which repeals all treaty stipulations which are inconsistent with it. As regards territorial waters of protectorates, the Act is the supreme authority in respect of the Slave-trade. The ground of abstention, therefore, is that, according to the Brussels Act, protecting Powers are entrusted with the execution of the Act in the territories under their protection and consequently in territorial waters. Admiral KENNEDY, as I have previously stated, paid a small sum out of his own pocket spontaneously to men whose dhows he considered to have been irregularly boarded, and in doing so exercised a discretion with which the Government do not intend to interfere. I may add that the dhows in question were under French colours.

Mr. PEASE asked whether Her Majesty's Navy were allowed to search any vessel carrying the French flag which they suspected to be engaged in the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa.

Sir E. GREY.—No, sir, we have no right to search any vessel carrying the French flag.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

December 15th.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government were aware that Clause I of the decree issued on August 1, 1890, by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR confirms all decrees and ordinances made by his predecessors against Slavery and the Slave-trade, which includes the treaty between Great Britain and Zanzibar of June 5, 1873, and whether all Slaves introduced into Zanzibar or Pemba since that date have been so brought in contravention of that treaty and are now illegally held in bondage ; whether the proclamation of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR abolishing Slavery in Kismayu and Benadir, in January, 1876, comprises the territory lately handed back to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR ; whether the Slaves now employed in coaling Her Majesty's ships of war in Zanzibar were all introduced into that island prior to 1873, and if not, on what grounds they are now recognised as Slaves ; whether any means were taken by the Zanzibar Government to insure that the money paid to Slaves for coaling Her Majesty's ships is not paid over to their masters, either

directly or indirectly ; and whether, as the finances of the Zanzibar protectorate are under the control of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, he would state whether any portion of the revenue is derived from Slave labour.

Sir E. GREY.—The treaty of June 5, 1873, is in force, and its effect is correctly stated. The proclamation of 1876 affects Kismayu, which is still held by the East Africa Company, and the Benadir ports now administered by Italy. The coaling of Her Majesty's ships is done by a British firm under contract. The commanders of the vessels have nothing to do with the service, but the firm makes no distinction whatever as to the payment of different classes of labourers. It would manifestly be impossible for it to undertake to examine the previous history of any Slaves who present themselves for employment. The sources of the Zanzibar revenues are defined under treaties and the Berlin and Brussels Acts, all of which, as well as the revenue returns, have been laid before Parliament. If my hon. friend will refer to these I shall be glad to give him any further explanation that is in my power ; but I must point out that to exempt from duty any produce which is the result of Slave labour would be to place a high premium upon the employment of Slaves.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked whether the decree of August 20, 1890, issued at Zanzibar, directing a Slave-owner to punish his Slave in the event of his running away, and giving Slave-owners power to refuse the money offered by a Slave for the purchase of his freedom, has since been revoked or in any way modified.

Sir E. GREY.—The decree of August 20, 1890, was issued in consequence of a dangerous excitement among masters and Slaves owing to misinterpretation of the previous decree of August 1. It explained that the law was not altered as regards Slaves who ran away or were accused of crimes. It further stated that the stipulation in the previous decree as to the concurrence of the Sultan's Arab subjects in the adjustment of the tariff for purchasing freedom must be understood to convey that the assent of the owners was an essential condition. There has been no further alteration in either of the decrees, and they are both in force.

Sir C. DILKE asked whether the hon. member did not think there was reason to fear that the giving way to what he called dangerous excitement might produce excitement in the future when we again took the steps we should have to take.

Sir E. GREY replied that Slavery was diminishing to such an extent in Zanzibar that he hoped that in the course of a few years the place of Slaves would be entirely taken by free labour ; and in that case there would be no danger.

Mr. T. G. BOWLES asked whether it was not the case that BENGAZI's way of punishing Slaves for running away was to kill them.

Sir E. GREY said he was afraid he could not answer the question without notice.

Mr. T. G. BOWLES.—I will put the question on Wednesday, the 27th. (Laughter.)

Mr. T. BAYLEY asked whether the Foreign Office were informed of the cancelling or withdrawal of clauses of the Anti-Slavery Edict of August 1, 1890; whether the proclamation, dated twenty days later, was issued with the knowledge and consent of the Foreign Office; and whether our Slave-trade policy in the Protectorate of Zanzibar had had any and what effect on the Slave-trade that supplied Slaves for use on the coast plantations under the British Protectorate in East Africa.

Sir E. GREY.—The second decree, the effect of which I have already explained in my answer to the hon. member for Tyneside, was issued without previous communication with Her Majesty's Government. As far as our knowledge goes, the supply of Slaves from the interior to the coast plantations of the Protectorate has, under British control, absolutely ceased.

Sir C. DILKE.—Is it not admitted by Mr. RODD, the Acting Consul-General, that there is smuggling still going on in the Island of Zanzibar itself?

Sir E. GREY.—In some instances it has occurred; but it is absolutely illegal, and I am quite sure the officials are ready to do their best to put down anything of the kind.

December 18.

Sir C. DILKE asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with reference to a statement recently made that the traffic in Slaves in Zanzibar was absolutely prohibited, and that every person entering the Sultan's dominions from outside was free, whether he was aware that recent travellers, with every opportunity for knowing the facts, had stated that, on the contrary, there was an active Slave-trade going on into the Sultan's dominions from the interior, and this since the establishment of our Protectorate and up to the present time; and whether he would make further inquiries as to the accuracy of the information furnished to the Foreign office.

Sir E. GREY.—I have not seen the statements referred to, but if they are specified they will be inquired into.

SLAVES IN BRITISH PROTECTORATES.

December 28.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Attorney-General whether it was legal for a British firm to employ Slaves in the coaling of vessels in the waters of a British protectorate; and whether Slaves in these waters had a right to claim their freedom and protection when they obtained a footing upon vessels belonging to Her Majesty's Navy.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—With reference to the first part of the question there is no illegality in employing Slaves as therein mentioned. I may add

that so far as is known the Slaves offer themselves voluntarily for employment, and are not employed through their masters. As to the second part, Slaves who are received on board vessels belonging to Her Majesty's Navy, wherever they may be, are not liable to be delivered up on the ground of their being Slaves. This is in accordance with the terms of the Act of the Brussels Conference and the instructions given to naval officers.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked whether the Slaves might under these circumstances claim their freedom.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—I have said they are not to be delivered up on the ground that they are Slaves, which involves their obtaining their liberty, save in exceptional cases, where, for instance, they have been guilty of crimes which are recognised as crimes for which they ought to be punished, when it would be right that they should be delivered up.

Mr. T. G. BOWLES, who rose amid Ministerial murmurs, said,—Do I understand the Solicitor-General to say that when an English man-of-war goes into a foreign port and receives on board Slaves recognised as such by the municipal laws of the country, that the commander of the vessel is to override all those municipal laws and is not to allow the Slaves to return to their masters? (Laughter.)

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—Certainly; that has been the law of the land for many years. (Cheers.)

Mr. T. G. BOWLES.—Is not that entirely opposed to the Admiralty instructions?

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—No.

Mr. PIERPOINT.—Is there accommodation on board Her Majesty's ships for these Slaves? (Cries of "Oh.") No answer was given.

FREED SLAVES.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether a return of all Slaves set free in all British protected territories or waters must be presented to the Brussels Bureau in January, in accordance with the general Act of the Brussels Conference; and, if so, whether the number could now be stated of the Slaves so set free.

Sir E. GREY.—The returns of freed Slaves are presented to the Brussels Bureau. Those now ready will be laid before the House without delay.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether steps would be taken to procure the freedom of all Slaves admitted to be illegally held in bondage in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and other British protectorates on the east coast of Africa.

Sir E. GREY.—If a Slave is proved to be illegally held in bondage it would be the duty of the British officials to take steps to protect him against such injustice.

EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES AT ZANZIBAR.

December 29.

Mr. T. BAYLEY asked the Attorney-General whether Her Majesty's subjects could legally own or employ Slaves in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL.—As a protest on the part of the law officers and of the Foreign Department against questions of this kind being given without sufficient notice, I must ask that further notice be given. The answer may not, in my opinion, be open to much doubt, but it ought not to be given without reference to numerous Orders in Council, treaties, and other documents which there has not been time to consult. (Hear, hear.)

Slavery in Zanzibar.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,
30th December, 1893.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G.,
&C., &C., HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,

In accordance with your Lordship's request, conveyed by Sir EDWARD GREY, M.P., to Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P., a member of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, we now, on behalf of that body, beg to submit in writing some of the points with regard to Slavery and the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, in respect of which we are deputed to seek an interview with your Lordship.

In the first place, we venture to point out the material disadvantage that exists from the absence of all statistics, relating to the inhabitants of the two islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, which are under British protection, and to which we would specially direct your Lordship's attention.

In 1844 the population of the two islands was computed to be approximately 450,000 souls, of whom 360,000 were Slaves. Up to 1878 the area of cultivation became increased, and was probably accompanied by a larger importation of Slaves to the islands. We understand that Her Majesty's Government admit that all Slaves, imported since 1873, are illegally held in bondage, and we therefore submit that, inasmuch as the life of a Slave, on these islands, seldom exceeds fifteen years, while comparatively few births occur, the larger proportion of the present Slave population, is illegally held in the condition of Slavery. We

would therefore urge upon your Lordship, that British officials should be instructed, to rectify the illegality of the retention in servitude, of all Slaves, imported since 1873 into those Islands. (*Enclosure No. 1.*)

We desire to draw your Lordship's further attention, to the absence of any British Representative, or official on the Island of Pemba, and to the liberty possessed, by the Arab Slave-owner, to punish and illtreat without restriction, human beings, over the greater part of whom, we contend, he can have no legal claim. And although the condition of affairs in the island is with difficulty ascertained, yet that terrible cruelties are perpetrated, is evidenced by the cases of runaway Slaves, who have sought protection on vessels in Her Majesty's Navy, when coasting round the island, and who bore marks of the illtreatment to which they had been subjected. The value of the produce exported in the present year, estimated by the Intelligence Department of the War Office, is said to amount to £120,000, and we feel we cannot express too strongly our abhorrence at the apparent indifference, which is permitted to exist, as to the condition of Slaves, in an island under British protection.

The same may also be said of the greater part of the Island of Zanzibar.

Several questions in Parliament recently, addressed to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have drawn attention to the character of a proclamation, "made without previous communication with Her Majesty's Government," dated August 20th, 1890, which, however, is still permitted to remain in force. This proclamation not only directs Slave-owners to punish their Slaves, when they run away, and thus totally disregards the brutal treatment to which the Slaves may have been subjected, but also "modifies" the decree of August 1st of the same year, which gave any Slave power to purchase his freedom; and thus, by a practical reversal of the obvious intention of the earlier proclamation, concedes to the Slave-owner power to deny to a Slave, his freedom by purchase. We cannot but regard the issue of this proclamation as a retrograde policy, although, at the same time, both the proclamations in question could only have been legally applied to Slaves, who had been imported prior to 1873; all subsequent introduction of Slaves into the Sultan's territory, having been pronounced by Her Majesty's Government to be illegal. (*Enclosure No. 2.*)

We have been informed that the Germans have, in their sphere of influence, adjacent to one of our own Protectorates, given to every Slave the unfettered power of purchasing his freedom, while our own Government denies similar rights to the native population, in the British protected territories, of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has frequently been astonished, at the procedure which characterises the Administration at Zanzibar, so far as it is connected with Slavery and the Slave-trade. The laxity, for instance, which has permitted the constant shipment of Slaves from Zanzibar to Pemba, the recent capture of the *Kilwa*, one of the Sultan's vessels, taken *flagrante delicto*, by a British cruiser, with this singular anomaly, that the Arabs on board were imprisoned, whilst the vessel was released, to the discontent of the captors.

We would also call attention to the recent capture of a vessel in Zanzibar waters, carrying the French flag, when, after the Slaves had all been set free, the vessel and crew were allowed to be sent to Réunion, where, as might naturally be expected, they were acquitted by the Court. These are matters which have been recently represented at the office over which your Lordship presides.

The treatment by Her Majesty's Government of the Sultans of Zanzibar has of late years been bold, effectual, and unfettered by considerations of Arab policy, with this one exception of doing justice to contraband Slaves, and we fail to discover any reason which could possibly justify the exception. We feel that we have also just grounds of complaint, at the unreliable nature of the information, on the subject of Slavery, which emanates from Zanzibar, information, on which we have too good reason to believe, that some of the official reports are more or less based.

We would venture to remind your Lordship, that numerous edicts and proclamations exist, already, for the benefit of Slaves, and that the one to which allusion has already been made, dated August 1, 1890, confirms all former decrees and ordinances, made against Slavery and the Slave-trade, and declares they shall be binding. It is obviously not to the interest of anyone in Protectorates, where Slave labour is almost entirely depended upon, to assist the representatives of Her Majesty's Government, in bringing to an end the condition of Slavery, or to inform Slaves of legislation enacted on their behalf, and we submit that, to give real efficacy to an Act abolishing the legal status of Slavery, adequate means should be taken, by proclamation and organisation, to bring home to those in the condition of Slavery, the benefits intended for them.

And here we would respectfully call your Lordship's attention to the vast difference, between compulsory emancipation, and the abolition of the legal status. Since compulsory emancipation gives immediate freedom to all Slaves, whether they desire it or not, and might possibly be productive of complications, and of hardship to the Slaves themselves, its practice is not advocated, in those cases now under consideration. The abolition of the legal status of Slavery, however, neither has, nor is

likely, to produce difficulties, because no compulsion is employed, and the Slaves of good masters are not compelled to leave them, against their own will. Its effect is to place the Slave and the free man, on the same level, before the Courts, so that anyone who desires protection from ill-treatment, or other causes, can demand to be set free under British law. In India, the Gold Coast, Ceylon, and elsewhere this method has proved eminently efficacious, and there is no reason to apprehend that it would not be equally efficacious in any other British Protectorate.

We therefore earnestly entreat your Lordship, to terminate Moham-medan law, with regard to Slavery, in all Courts, British or Native, in all territories, taken under the protection of Her Majesty the Queen ; for its continuance, we respectfully submit, is a break in the continuity of that moral policy, of which your Lordship so eloquently stated, that England was so justly proud.

We regret that the Province of Witu has recently been placed under the jurisdiction of the SULTAN, and under Mohammedan law, and we hope that Indian or British law, the adoption of which was enforced upon the Imperial British East Africa Company, during its control of this district, will be adopted, now that Her Majesty's Government are responsible, for the proper administration of the territory. We cannot conceive that public opinion will tolerate, what appears to us, to be a retrogressive policy, viz.: the imposition of Mohammedan law, in the place of the Indian Civil and Criminal Code, established in 1891, in that portion of our Protectorate.

Whilst we have been assured by Her Majesty's Government that land is going out of cultivation in the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, on account of the supply of Slaves being unequal to the demand, yet we would exhort your Lordship to hesitate before committing the Government to the substitution of Coolie labour for Slave labour, unless the following conditions are complied with : that contracts for labour be only recognised or enforced which are made by the labourer, with a full knowledge of the work to be done, and in the country where such labour has to be performed, and that something like an equality of both sexes should be maintained. The experience in the past in connection with the employment of Coolie labour in British Colonies, was such as to bring into operation the Act of 1839, which rendered every person who made a contract with any native of India, outside Indian territory, liable to a fine of 200 rupees for each native contracted with, whilst the more recent experience of the island of Réunion ought, in our view, to deter your Lordship from adopting a course which might open the door to similar abuse. (*Enclosure No. 3.*)

We have no desire to dwell upon the horrors of the Slave-trade, but we feel that the fact that, for every Slave employed on the East Coast of Africa, at least ten other natives have perished under most revolting conditions, ought alone to be sufficient to animate us to leave no stone unturned, in doing our utmost to bring to an end the employment of Slaves as porters, or for coaling vessels, or upon plantations, or in any other capacity, except as free men.

We would, in conclusion, respectfully call your Lordship's attention to the fact that at Zanzibar most of the estates, belonging to Arabs, are heavily mortgaged to British-Indian subjects, and that assertions will be made, that the ruin of the clove plantations will follow the abolition of the legal status. We are not unprepared with an answer; it is only necessary to point to the attraction of free labour to Nyassaland and its coffee plantations, and to the success which has universally attended the employment of free labour in place of Slave labour.

Whilst we believe it to be to the pecuniary interest of our country to adopt the course we respectfully suggest, yet, apart from the considerable expense annually incurred by the nation, we feel confident that the public opinion of the country will inevitably be averse to any legislation, in favour of those by whose evasions and cruelties, tens of thousands are now held in Slavery, when they ought to be free.

We would, therefore, respectfully ask your Lordship to grant the favour of an interview to the signatories of this document, in order that the various points we have here raised may be discussed, and our views and the grounds upon which we rely, may be laid more fully before your Lordship.

On behalf of the Committee,

We have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful Servants,

JOS. A. PEASE, M.P.,	} <i>Members of Committee.</i>
ARTHUR ALBRIGHT,	
HORACE WALLER,	
W. H. WYLDE,	
ROBT. N. CUST,	
CHAS. H. ALLEN,	<i>Secretary.</i>
J. EASTOE TEALL,	<i>Assist.-Secretary.</i>

Enclosures forwarded to LORD ROSEBERY.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

(No. 1.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *December 15th.*

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government were aware that by Clause 1

of the Decree issued on August 1st, 1890, the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR confirms all Decrees and Ordinances made by his predecessors against Slavery and the Slave-trade, which includes the Treaty between Great Britain and Zanzibar, of June 5th, 1873, and whether all Slaves introduced into Zanzibar or Pemba since that date have been so brought in contravention of that Treaty, and are now illegally held in bondage, etc., etc.

Sir E. GREY.—The Treaty of June 5th, 1873, is in force, and its effect is correctly stated.

(No. 2.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *December 15th.*

Mr. T. BAYLEY asked whether the Foreign Office were informed of the cancelling or withdrawal of clauses of the Anti-Slavery Edict of August 1st, 1890, whether the Proclamation, dated twenty days later, was issued with the knowledge and consent of the Foreign Office, and whether our Slave-trade policy in the Protectorate of Zanzibar had had any, and what, effect on the Slave-trade that supplied Slaves for use on the coast plantations under the British Protectorate in East Africa?

Sir E. GREY.—The second Decree, the effect of which I have already explained in my answer to the Hon. Member for Tyneside, was issued without previous communication with Her Majesty's Government. As far as our knowledge goes, the supply of Slaves from the interior to the coast plantations of the Protectorate has, under British control, absolutely ceased.

(No. 3.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *December 8th.*

In reply to a question by Sir C. DILKE, Sir E. GREY said: As a matter of fact, the number of Slaves, in Zanzibar, has been so diminished already, that some parts of the clove plantations are going out of cultivation.

Slave-Trade in British Protectorates.

. CAPTURE OF DHOW WITH THIRTY-THREE SLAVES.

A CAPTURE of a dhow and its cargo of Slaves was effected at the south end of the island by boats from H.M.S. *Raccoon* last Wednesday, the case, conducted by Mr. F. H. O. WILSON, being heard by Mr. W. B. CRACKNALL in H.M. Consular Court last Saturday morning. Captain HENDERSON and Lieut. MARCUS HILL were present, while the Slaves, some thirty-three in number, were in charge of petty officers and bluejackets from H.M.S. *Raccoon* outside the Court.

After an affidavit *re* the facts of the capture of the dhow had been read and put in, Lieut. HILL gave evidence to the effect that on the 15th inst. he was cruising in a

boat off the south end of the island, when he received information that a dhow had landed some Slaves off Kizimkazi. He proceeded on board the dhow, which had been deserted by the crew, and searched it thoroughly. As evidences of slaving practices having been carried out, he mentioned the very large water cask, the unusual quantity of food and cooking utensils, the boarding of the bottom of the dhow, the absence of any signs of ordinary cargo, and the strong odour which was noticeable, and pointed to a considerable number of natives having been crowded on board. He also found on board a muzzle-loading gun (heavily charged), powder horn and shot, and a spear; there were some Arab flags, but no papers, except a letter in Arabic, having no reference to the dhow. He remained in the vicinity for some time, but no one made any claim to the dhow, and, considering the circumstances very suspicious, he brought it into the harbour, where it had been anchored off the *Racoon*, but no one had made any claim of ownership. Enquiries had been made at the Port Office, which showed that the dhow was registered as belonging to an Arab, the latest known of its movements being the fact that it had cleared out with twenty-two passengers for Kilwa on the 12th October.

The judge gave orders that H.H. the Sultan should be communicated with, in order that the necessary action might be taken in regard to the registered owner.

Mr. H. J. WILNOTT, petty officer of the second class, gave evidence confirming that already tendered by Lieut. HILL.

Mr. CRACKNALL then gave judgment, condemning the dhow for offences against the General Act of the Brussels Convention.

A second affidavit was next read by Mr. WILSON and put in with regard to thirty-three Slaves (thirteen male and twenty female) which had been seized by H.M.S. *Racoon* upon their being landed at Kizimkazi. This was to the effect that Lieut. HILL, whilst anchored in one of the ship's boats off Mundwi Island, was informed that Slaves had been landed near Kizimkazi by a dhow which had then proceeded for Zanzibar.

MAHOMED MASUDI gave evidence to the effect that he had been instructed by Lieut. HILL to go to Kizimkazi and stop certain Slaves whom he would find being landed on the beach. He had gone to the place named and seen the Slaves coming on shore. He ordered them as they landed to sit down, which they did; but the owner coming on shore with the last batch having ordered them to get up again and march, the witness had called upon the chief of the village, who, accompanied by other natives, came down armed and took charge of the Slaves. Lieut. HILL then arrived and took off the latter, bringing them into the harbour. There were five men as crew of the dhow. The owner was a Suahili.

SULEIMANI (one of the Slaves) was next called. He said: I am a Slave. This is the first time I have been in Zanzibar. I have only just come here. I was sold to ABDULA ISMYA, a chief, who brought me to Kilwa. He sold me there to an Arab named MASUDI. I remained twelve days at Kilwa. We were then marched to a place called Kiparari, having to sleep one night in the bush. We did not go in the public way in case the Europeans might see us. There were five men and six women on the same chain with me. There were other Slaves belonging to different masters coming with us. MASUDI remained behind at Kilwa to buy more Slaves. I know he bought us, because I saw the bag of money paid. We were put on board the dhow at Kiparari. We were two days at sea. On the third day we reached this island. We were told that if the Europeans saw us they would seize us. No one died on the voyage, and no one was left behind.

IWI (a small, but very intelligent boy of about seven years of age) then gave

evidence. He said he came from the Nyassa country. He was sold there to a man who brought him into the Yao country. He was sold again there to another man, who brought him to Kilwa. He had walked all the way from Nyassa. He did not know the name of the place where he had first reached the sea. He came down with a *safari*, including other Slaves.

The judge asked him what he would like to do now, and suggested that Mr. WILSON should take him into his employ as a boy in his office, which Mr. WILSON said he was willing to do.

SIKUZANI (a young woman carrying a baby) was then called. She said she belonged to the Nyassa country, where she had been sold for thirty pieces of cloth. She had been brought to Mikindani, and had lived there for two years. She was then taken to Kilwa, where she was kept for one month, and then taken on board the dhow.

The judge then gave his decision, thirty-two Slaves being condemned (one of the men had attempted to pass himself off as a Slave, but it had been found that he had not been landed from the dhow).—*Zanzibar Gazette*, Nov. 22nd.

Native African Caravans.

FOR IVORY OSTENSIBLY—FOR SLAVES REALLY!

THE following quotation from Captain LUGARD's diary*, made on the spot, confirms what the Anti-Slavery Society has constantly maintained, viz., that Slave caravans are really enabled to carry on their nefarious work by means of money supplied by British subjects in Zanzibar. Ivory is a convenient name to use in these transactions, but it is very well known that "black ivory" is the staple produce which the Swahili caravan is in search of. Now that Zanzibar is a British Protectorate, it is time this traffic in human flesh was put an end to, and that the ships of war of HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN should no longer be coaled by Slaves in Zanzibar harbour—the product of this detestable business; as admitted by Sir EDWARD GREY in the House of Commons, on the 8th December, 1893.

A SWAHILI CARAVAN.

On November 14th we arrived at Njems, a village of Wakwavi. These people are an offshoot of the Masai, and differ from them only in being settled, and, to a small extent, agricultural, instead of nomadic and purely pastoral. Here we found a very large Swahili caravan encamped. It was the same that had long ago passed us when we were building forts on the former expedition, and they said they had received all their goods and advances for trading from the Company. Elsewhere, I have strongly expressed my opinions as to the great harm done by these caravans in the interior, where they are away from all supervision and control. Their ostensible object is the acquisition of ivory; yet the charter of the Company indicates that the elephant is not to be destroyed wholesale. Europeans of the highest character (like my friend SHARPE, of Nyassaland) were refused permission to shoot elephants on these grounds, though reliance could be placed on them not to ruthlessly destroy calves and immature cows, yet every facility is given to the Swahili.

A DEAD LETTER PROCLAMATION.

I shall presently (Chapter XVII.) show that if the proclamation of September 11th, 1891, were logically carried out these caravans would be unable to recruit porters, and

* WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS.

hence the evil would cease. It is certain, moreover, that these Swahili caravans supplied by ourselves with the means, engage in the Slave-trade. In fact, the Slave caravan I met in the Sabakhi was a part of this very one, and the *Watoto* we captured recognised WILSON and myself. Everything cannot be achieved in a day; "but (as I say in my diary), I think that now the time has come when every Swahili caravan leaving the coast should register its arms; that every Company's caravan should have the authority to seize arms in the possession of any one in the interior unregistered, and to inspect their registration papers."

Native African Distillers.

The Geographical Journal for November, 1893, publishes an excellent paper, with map, describing the routes and districts of South Nyassaland. In one portion of the country, called the West Shiré District, we are somewhat startled to find that the natives have learned from the Portuguese half-castes how to manufacture "fire water" for themselves, and thus become independent of the spirit traders, whose action has hitherto been the bane of Africa, and against whom it was the object of the General Act of the Brussels Conference to protect the ignorant natives:

"In the bed of the river and in the marsh rice is extensively cultivated, while Indian corn is planted by the natives every fortnight, so that they may always have the luxury of green corn. Kaffir corn is grown during the wet season on the banks on both sides. The population on the Mwanza is thick for Africa. I myself saw more than fifteen villages in the ten miles between Mikolongo and Katawala, and I counted nearly one thousand houses in them, besides hearing of many others which I did not visit. The people are of a lazy and less prosperous type than those on the Shiré. Their country is so fertile that they live with greater ease, and they have learnt from the Portuguese half-castes the art of distilling ardent spirits, in which they indulge considerably. It is extremely difficult to get men, either to work or to carry loads. Game is very abundant in the hills on both sides of the Mwanza."

Does the World Progress?

E pur si muove.—(GALILEO).

Oh, sometimes glimpses on my sight,
Through present wrong, th' eternal right;
And, step by step, since time began,
I see the steady gain of man:
That of all good the past hath had
Remains to make our own time glad;
Our common daily life divine,
And ev'ry land a Palestine.
For still the new transcends the old
In signs and token manifold;
Slaves rise up men, the olive waves,
With roots deep set, in battle-graves.
Through the harsh noises of our day,
A low sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear,
A light is breaking, calm and clear.

—JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Hausa Pilgrimages.

NATIVE ACCOUNT OF DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.

THE following interesting paper was read at the Nottingham meeting of the British Association in September, 1893, by Rev. C. H. ROBINSON, M.A., and is valuable from the light it throws upon the West African Hausa people and language. It is a mark of great energy and courage on the part of ABU BEKR—one of the Hausas—to find him traversing Africa almost from west to east, and passing safely through the troubled country of the Soudan, just after the murder of General GORDON, by the Mahdists. His account of the manner in which GORDON was slain will be read with interest when compared with the fuller details given by Father OHRWALDER, in his lately published work, and with the separate narrations collated by Major WINGATE. The narrative of ABU BEKR is an extraordinary one, and his adventurous journey does not yet appear to be terminated, though we trust he will eventually reach his home in the Hausa country :—

THE HAUSA PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE.

Mr. ROBINSON said there were not improbably some present to whom the word Hausa, whether as applied to a people or to a language, conveyed but very little distinct meaning. They would therefore be surprised to hear that Hausa might claim to be the second most widely-spoken language in Africa, being spoken, in fact, by no less than fifteen million people, *i.e.*, by one per cent. of the whole human race. The comparative neglect with which both the Hausa language and people had been treated in the past, as well as the immense influence which they seemed destined to exert upon the future of Central Africa, must be his excuse for consenting to read a paper after such a very brief study as he had as yet been able to make in Africa, whether of the people or of their language.

Before passing to the more direct subject of this paper, he might perhaps pause for a moment to remind them of the exact locality and extent of the country inhabited by the Hausa people. Besides being as it was a sort of *lingua franca* throughout the whole of the western and central Soudan, being understood sufficiently for purposes of trade and travel from the Niger and Binue to the Mediterranean, and from the Gulf of Guinea to Khartoum, it was the distinctive language of the Hausa race proper inhabiting the country which stretched from a little above the junction of the Niger and Binue to the south border of the Great Sahara. As compared with the tribes by which they were surrounded, the Hausas were a highly-civilised race. Living in strong, well-built cities, they manufactured large quantities of native cloth, leather, paper, shoes, etc., which, together with palm oil and spice, formed the staple articles of the trade which they carried on throughout the whole of the Soudan. Small outlying colonies of Hausa people were to be found in Alexandria, Tripoli, Tunis, and almost all the towns on the African coast of the Mediterranean.

The language spoken by the Hausa people, which possessed an alphabet and a literature of its own, the alphabet being a modification of the Arabic, was radically distinct from the other native languages by which it was surrounded. It resembled Coptic from the fact that whilst being itself probably non-Semitic, it had borrowed its whole pronominal system and a large part of its general structure from a clearly Semitic source. It was during the course of a journey from which he had recently

returned along part of the southern frontier of Tunis and Algiers, near the northern border of the Great Sahara Desert, that his attention was directed to the subject on which he had been asked to read the present paper. It was difficult to over-estimate the far-reaching results, on the life and habits of the great Hausa race, of the command addressed by the Prophet in the Koran to all his devout followers to make the pilgrimage to Mekka. The efforts which were constantly being made by tens of thousands of the population to fulfil this supposed obligation produced a sort of arterial circulation throughout the whole of the Soudan, starting in some instances from places as much as 3,000 miles distant from Mekka.

HAUSA PILGRIMS.

During the course of the journey above referred to, a journey which he made for the purpose of ascertaining by direct intercourse with the natives the possibility of crossing the Great Sahara in order to reach the Hausa States, which lie to the south of it, Mr. ROBINSON had with him as servants and camel-drivers, two Hajis, namely, men who had successfully accomplished the pilgrimage to Mekka, both of whom were Hausas. The story of his life, which the father of one of these Hajis, himself a Haji, dictated to him in Hausa, might perhaps prove interesting as illustrating the difficulties and adventures which the pilgrims not unfrequently met with in the course of their protracted journeys. The author, ABU BEKR, by name, a native of Bida, a town of about 50,000 inhabitants, 150 miles north-west of Lokoja on the river Niger, set out with several of the members of his family, a party of seventeen in all, and proceeded in the first instance to Kuba, on Lake Chad, whence after a stay or rather detention of four months, he set out *via* Wadai and Darfur for Khartoum. Whilst passing through Wadai he and his party were captured and treated as slaves for about a year; but having eventually regained their liberty and part of their property, on the plea that they were pilgrims bound for Mekka, they at length reached Khartoum, or rather Omdurman, opposite Khartoum, shortly after the taking of the city and the death of General GORDON.

The following is a literal translation of the account which ABU BEKR gave of the taking of the city and the death of GORDON, being the version current in the Mahdi's camp. It differed, as would be seen, in one or two important details from the accounts hitherto published, especially with regard to the amount of resistance which was encountered by the Mahdi immediately prior to the taking of the city. The translation, as they would see, was rough, his object being to preserve the idiomatic expressions of the original.

DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.

"On the day of the taking of the city, fighting went on from early morning until evening without ceasing. Many of the Pasha's men were killed, and many of the Mahdi's men were killed, until the evening came, till late at night. As the Pasha's men were resting, some of them went to the place of the Mahdi. They said to him, 'We are tired, we have had no rest to-day; do you give us something to eat; if, then, you will come to the place where we are in the evening, the Pasha, he will run away.' The Mahdi said: 'It is well, but how shall we take the place?' They said: 'Only come and fight.' The Mahdi gave them goods. He said, 'Stay in my camp if you will, or go to your own place.' They rejoiced; he gave them a cow, it was killed for eating; he gave them a camel, it was killed for eating; he gave them much money. He said, 'It is well; he (*i.e.* the Pasha) shall not sleep before we take the city, by the help of God.' Then he arose, in the early dawn. He took soldiers. They went to

the east of Khartoum. They sat down there. Others, they went to the north ; they sat down there. Others went down near the river, they sat down there. The Mahdi himself, he went towards the south. He rose up, a drum was beaten, a trumpet was blown, they all then arose and went towards Khartoum ; the men of Khartoum, they rose up, a fight began, this man and that man each fired his gun, they fought until the evening, but they were not able to enter into the town. In the evening they ran away. Many of the Mahdi's men were killed. The Mahdi rose up. Three times he exclaimed, 'O God, O God, come !' He uttered many charms, he prostrated himself twice. All his men saw this ; the fight went on till the early dawn. In the darkness the Mahdi entered into the city ; no one saw him. When the men of the city saw him, they said to the Pasha, 'The Mahdi, he has entered into the city.' The Pasha said, 'Where is he?' The Pasha's men, when they heard it, their hearts fell within them ; they threw away their guns. About twenty men were caught ; they fell down, they died. One was cut, another pierced with a spear ; he did not see who it was who pierced him. Some men were seen up above, fire was seen in the place, the men of the city they all ran away. The Pasha he said he would not run away till he was captured. He was struck with a gun, he was pierced with a sword and a spear, he was struck with a stone. The Mahdi had said, 'He must not be killed, he must be brought before me ; men do not kill a king in war.' When the Pasha said he would not go to the Place of the Mahdi, all the Mahdi's men struck him. The Mahdi when he heard it, said, 'Let his head be brought.' It was cut off, his body was thrown into the river. When his head was brought, to the place of the Mahdi, he said, 'Close his eyes.' He said, 'You have done a wicked thing, why did you kill him?' He was angry, he rose up, he returned to his camp in the evening."

TO MEKKA AND BACK.

ABU BEKR, after with difficulty escaping from the camp of the Mahdi, who wished to detain him as a soldier, proceeded on his journey to Mekka, through Abyssinia, where he was detained for a whole year, arriving at length at Sawakin. From Sawakin he went by steamer to Jidda, and thence by land to Mekka. Having performed the rites of the pilgrimage, which occupied a month, he found himself without any resources wherewith to continue his journey. He was consequently compelled to remain for four years at Mekka, at the end of which time, having replenished his own resources from those of subsequent pilgrims, he returned to Jidda, and went by steamer to Suez. From thence he walked to Alexandria, and came by ship to Tripoli. Having spent some considerable time in collecting money, chiefly by the sale of charms, to enable him to continue his journey once more, he has just now started with those who still remain of his original party to complete his return journey to Bida, by crossing the Great Sahara Desert, a distance of somewhat more than 2,000 miles. Should he meet with no unforeseen obstacles, he should reach his home in about a year's time, and will then have completed a journey of nearly 7,000 miles, chiefly on foot, in about nine years.—*The Geographical Journal*, November 1893.

"He's true to God who's true to man, wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun ;
The wrong is also done to us, and they are Slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all their race."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

On the Capture of Fugitive Slaves near Washington.

The Bishop of Derry on Mashonaland.

AT Westminster Abbey the BISHOP OF DERRY preached a sermon having special reference to Mashonaland. He said it had happened to him to have been lately in South Africa, and circumstances had given him a very deep and tender interest in Mashonaland. He had not, indeed, been there, but he could speak at second-hand with a peculiar right. He had spoken to missionaries, to statesmen, to pioneers, to many others, and he proposed to offer some thoughts upon the position of a part of Africa to which many eyes were now turned for different reasons. After describing the geographical extent of the country, the climate, and other features, and referring to the two elements of the population—the Matabele and the Mashonas—he said it was important for English people clearly to realise who and what the Matabele were. The Matabele were not the original possessors of the land; they were cruel and ruthless conquerors. They were the half-bred descendants of Zulus, who took possession of the country somewhere about 1835. The mothers of the present Matabele were in every case Mashonas. As to character, the Matabele were rather a military caste than a people in the ordinary sense of the word. It had been said of them by a great missionary who lived three years among them that they “live to kill.” Like so many people in Southern Africa, they have a system of witchcraft in which they believe, but they have little or no religion. Heroic efforts had been made to preach the Gospel among the Matabele, but he feared as yet no converts may have been made. Dr. HARTMANN, the brave and indomitable Jesuit missionary, had found out the meaning of their religious rite. When the mealies were ripe there was held among them a feast of first fruits, more properly an orgie of first fruits. Great regimental dances were held for their impis or brigades. There was no amusement, no business amongst the Matabele without death and blood. Some of the King’s enemies were killed; two witch-doctors divided what was called the “red” and the “black” medicine amongst the regiments. He had never meant to accuse any of the Matabele of being cannibals, but there could be no doubt that dried human flesh was one of the chief ingredients of this red hell-broth. This intricate ritual had no spiritual meaning or moral significance, but was entirely connected with military affairs. The Mashonas, on the other hand, he proceeded, were perhaps at the present moment the most wretched people on the face of God’s earth. We might call them aborigines in one sense, though some supposed they saw in their faces and features certain Semitic aspects that spoke of an Arabic origin. They were low, physically, morally, and intellectually, and the reason seemed to be that they were demoralised by the constant fear of raiding that hung over them. LOBENGULA claims the power of punishing his “dogs,” as he calls them, wherever they may be found, when and where he will; of hacking them in pieces, even in English settlements, where they are acting as servants. Season after season young braves burst in from Buluwayo, where the King resides and his regiments; Mashona girls were carried off; the old and feeble men were driven into huts and barbarously burned; the young were enslaved. He had heard from an eye-witness, who had seen much in savage lands, that the saddest sight he ever saw was that of a long string of Slaves and cattle driven from Mashonaland into Buluwayo, and at the end of the journey those who showed signs of weakness were murdered before their wives and children at the gates of the King’s kraal. Whatever else it might be, the Chartered Company of South Africa was a society for the protection of the aborigines and for the suppression of Slave-driving. These poor people, the Mashonas, were eminently industrious. The industry, he was

assured by all travellers, was written on the face of the country. They made, in their rough way, gardens, fields, rice enclosures, which were now desolate. Dr. HARTMANN stated that when the country was entered by the Matabele fifty years ago or so, there were probably 300,000 Mashonas in the land; there were now only about 100,000. The iron had indeed entered into their souls. English settlers who have Mashonas among them as servants said that they are bright and sharp, bubbling over with fun and spirits till nine or ten years of age, but after that time the poor children fall into semi-idiocy and become ungrateful and deceptive. The Mashonas, like the Matabele, have little that can be called religion. They have a worship, if it can be called so, an invocation of ancestral spirits, who are believed by the Matabele to be immortal. He was told that neither people have anything that speaks of an external religion—no temple stands upon the hills, no sacrifice smokes upon the altar, no image tells, however roughly and faintly, of an unseen spiritual power, they have not even the caricature of the sacramental principle to be found in the fetish. Little or no missionary advance seemed to have been made among the Mashonas, except probably by the Wesleyans, who, he believed, had some very encouraging converts. His faith was firm that such men as the indomitable Bishop Knight Bruce and Canon Balfour and those who worked with them, would do much in time, when the haunting fears of the Matabele and red dream of blood was removed. Whether it were by negotiation or purchase, or by sterner means, he believed they would be found to be capable of a higher manhood. The Bishop went on to remark upon the wider results and prospects of missionary enterprise in Africa, and, reverting in conclusion to Mashonaland, said there was no room for European settled life, no possibility of churches and homes until somehow or other the dark cloud was cleared away from Buluwayo. Do not go back, he urged, on the question of occupation and ask, What business have the English there? The question of occupation was settled, the land had been occupied, there were a few thousand brave Englishmen and a few hundred brave Englishwomen there. The Chartered Company was bound to protect them, but England was bound not to send Imperial troops indeed, but not to stay the hand of the Chartered Company. His soul sickened at the thought of the hideous heap of skulls by the kraal of Lobengula, at the wrongs of the Mashonas, the worst Slave-driving in the world. He longed to see Mashonaland opened to civilization and to the missionaries of the Cross. He believed the people of England and the statesmen of England should send out something better to the brave men in that far land than what seemed to him to be crisp definitions of military cowardice and military ineptitude as maxims of conduct. He believed we should not tell them to act out the Sermon on the Mount whenever it was advantageous to them, but if they found the contrary course advantageous to drop it and have recourse to the sword.—*The Times*.

Arab Slave-Traders.

A THRILLING story of the African Slave-trade has reached the State Department from its representative in the Congo Free State. Coming as it does at a time when the attention of the Government is being drawn to the "Dark Continent" by the Matabele war, the communication possesses a peculiar interest, as showing the conditions which exist there.

Owing to the scarcity of its agents in Africa, the department has had only meagre reports of the efforts of the Congo Government to suppress the Slave-trade within the domains of the State, and the communication which Secretary Gresham has received is regarded as a valuable addition to the information on that important subject.

The report is from DORSEY MOHUN, United States commercial agent at Boma, and the only representative of this Government in that portion of Africa. Mr. MOHUN is a native of Washington City, where he is well known, and his appointment was made with a view to furthering the commercial interest of the United States in that vast territory. It is understood that he also had special instructions to investigate the Slave-trade and the system of operations against the Arabs who were engaged in it. The result of his observations are contained in the exhaustive report which has just been received at the State Department.

IMPORTANT EXPEDITION.

In order to gain a clear insight into the whole matter, Mr. MOHUN attached himself to the expedition which was sent out by the Congo Government last spring, under command of M. CHALTIN. This expedition, both in point of strength and from the results which it accomplished, was one of the most important ever sent against the Arabs, and practically gave the Slave-trade in the Congo country its death blow. It penetrated the great Lomami River region, the stronghold of the Slave-traders, and after considerable heavy fighting, and in the face of great mortality from small-pox and fever, succeeded in breaking up several of the most noted bands, whose operations had terrorized the entire locality.

The account of the expedition which follows, is a condensation of the long and interesting story contained in Mr. MOHUN's report, which gives in detail the country explored, and the tribes who occupy it. The expedition started from Basoko, on the Congo River, in the Bruxelles, a Government steamer, and eventually reached Stanley Falls. The United States officer did not join it until after M. CHALTIN, who had gone on ahead, had made one short excursion into the backlying country. He caught the steamer on its next trip down to Basoko, and later joined Commandant CHALTIN.

COMPLETELY DESTROYED.

We found that the officer had been most successful; defeating the Arabs in an open fight, and completely destroying the village of Tchari, which consisted of 1,200 houses.

From that point the expedition sailed for Bena Kamba, where it was recognised, and set out for Riba Riba, 555 strong.

Then began the stirring and exciting adventures which lasted until the object of the expedition had been accomplished. Evidence of inhuman cruelty on the part of Slave-traders were encountered.

When the town of Ikamba was reached, a gruesome sight greeted the expedition. The chief of that district, being an ally of the Arabs, had placed directly across the road a ghastly barricade of sixteen newly-severed heads. The natives had fled, however, and the town was deserted save for these grisly warnings.

Without heeding this fearful sight the expedition pushed on, and on March 29 was stopped by an impassable stream. Scouts were sent out to find a ford, and soon returned with the news that a large party of Arabs was preparing to cross the river at a point not far away. These were the first Slave dealers who had been encountered, and the force was immediately placed in position for an attack.

SURPRISED THE ARABS.

The Arabs had not discovered the presence of the expedition, and the first warning they had was a shell from the field piece, which dropped into their camp. After several hours of hot fighting across the river, the Arabs withdrew, and upon crossing over, the blood which spattered the ground and bushes showed the victors that some deadly work had been done.

Only one dead Arab was found, as it is the custom of this people, Mr. MOHUN says, to remove their dead if possible. After the battle, 150 men succeeded in crossing the river, and were ordered to push on to Riba Riba, as it was desired to reach that town before the retreating forces of the defeated Arabs could give warning of the approach of the expedition.

This detachment Mr. MOHUN accompanied, but on reaching the town they found the place deserted. The only thing they did find was another bit of Arab pleasantry in the shape of two right hands of white men nailed to the flagstaff in front of the chief's house. Mr. MOHUN expresses the belief that they were those of Messrs. MICHAELS and NOBLESSE, who were murdered there the week before. It is the intention of M. CHALTIN to destroy these nests, and the detachment marched away in the light of the flames which ascended from the burning village and returned to the main force.

VICTIMS OF SMALLPOX.

Smallpox had made its appearance among the men, and on the next day all of the sick were sent back to Benekamba under guard. The expedition followed a few days later and reached the steamer on May 5, taking three days to make the home journey, which had consumed nine days in going. The scenes on the road going back, according to Mr. MOHUN's descriptions, were appalling. The dead from the sick column lined the way, and occasionally a corpse would be stumbled over as it lay concealed in the high grass, and over all was the overpowering stench from the decomposing bodies.

So great was the mortality that upon reaching Benekamba it was found that 104 persons had died in less than two weeks.

The battle which ended the expedition was fought at Stanley Falls. The soldiers were in two detachments, under cover of fire from the cannon on the steamer. One detachment carried the factory at the point of the bayonet, and for a while there was hot work. The retreating Arabs were pursued to the village, which the soldiers took. The other detachment, on the right bank of the river, had gallantly captured another town, killing the chief and 75 of his men. The defeat and rout of the Arabs was complete, and the slaughter from the rifles of the soldiers was fearful. After this disastrous defeat many of the Arabs' Slaves, soldiers, women, and other retainers gave themselves up. In all, about 100 of these surrendered to the expedition.

REVOLTING SIGHTS.

There being no further danger from the Arabs after such a complete rout, the expedition left Stanley Falls and went to Romie, another Arab town, which they found had been already captured by a small force under the command of Mr. FIVE, the inspector of the Congo State, and an officer. Here Mr. MOHUN saw some sights which were revolting in the extreme, surpassing in savagery anything that he had imagined.

The butchery of the Arabs in the fight which resulted in the capture of the village, had been fearful, and the natives, who swarmed like vultures over the whole place, began cutting up and eating the bodies. Commandant CHALTIN had given orders that this was not to be permitted, and any native caught with human flesh in his possession was to be shot on the spot.

Mr. MOHUN says that he saw several natives carrying arms and legs down to the beach preparatory to a feast, and laconically adds that a bullet soon put an end to this proceeding. The natives, he says, say they do not eat human flesh on account of a liking for it, but as the Arabs are their enemies they gain all the strength possessed by them when they eat them.—*New York Herald, Nov.*

Slaves of the Soil.

"IN SOUTHERN INDIA."

WE have all heard of the *Pariahs* of India, but probably few of us know that these wretched outcasts are descendants of a once powerful non-Aryan race, having their own kings, warriors and priests, with a literature containing works that are still held as standard on ethics and philosophy. Those who wish to learn something of the former prosperous condition, and the present degradation of these interesting people, should read two well-written little pamphlets by the Rev. T. B. NANDIAN, one entitled as above, the other called *The Ancient Heroes of Southern India* (G. Stoneman, Paternoster Row).

Mr. NANDIAN, being a Christian, cares nothing for caste, but his interesting little volumes show how caste has been able to sink and demoralize whole tribes. The English Government will have to deal with this question, sooner or later, and we trust that in a time—not very far distant—this Slave yoke of a cruel and degrading caste system may be broken. We have only space for a very few extracts, but the pamphlets can be easily procured by those who wish to know more.

CASTE SLAVERY.

The Englishman has set his face steadily against Slavery in any shape or form. Man is born free, and he must live free. As between man and man there can be no bondage, except that which is caused by crime, and demanded for the protection of society. And even this bondage is not hereditary; it is not even life-long, except in the case of very heinous crimes. Any attempt to make it life-long without good reason, and all attempts to make it hereditary are resisted by the Englishman, who in former days successfully constituted himself the champion of humanity in this matter, and who still acts up to that character, though he is no longer left single-handed in this noble struggle. And not only does he condemn bondage, he protests against oppression in any form. His sympathy and interest extend beyond his own shores to the oppressed of other lands. The negro of the United States of America is no longer a Slave; he is a free man. His emancipation is theoretically complete. The law acknowledges him a man and a brother, and confers on him all the rights and privileges of a free citizen. But society declines to endorse the *dictum* of the law. The white man forms a combination to exclude the negro from certain privileges and advantages, and race prejudice runs even higher now, at any rate on the part of the negro, than it did before the war of emancipation. English sympathy is with the American negro in his false position. He is at a distance, and his circumstances are gauged with reasonable accuracy. Yet, strange to say, Englishmen, with all their chivalry, their love of freedom, their hatred of oppression and wrong, are overlooking, day by day, the position of the poor Pariah in India—a position more wretched and hopeless by far than that of the negro of America.

SLAVERY UNDER BRITISH RULE.

The Pariah is near, he is subject to British rule, and yet his rights are not accorded to him; his wrongs are overlooked, and his emancipation in practice is still to come. He was formerly called by the Indians a Slave; he is a Slave still, although he is under British rule. He is frequently the bondsman of a master who is not

oppressive so long as the Pariah puts forward no claims, asserts no rights, but who becomes oppressive to the extent of cruelty when his "Slave" seeks to gain his freedom or to become possessed of land of his own; the possession of land, free from debt, being regarded as a preliminary step to freedom. The Pariah of rural districts is differently placed from his fellow of the city. The town mouse and the field mouse, according to Æsop, have to go through different systems of education, as to how to provide food for themselves and their families. So it is with the urban Pariah and the rural Pariah.

It is worthy of repetition that this happens under British rule. The very men who condemn Slavery elsewhere allow a form of it, a very harsh form, to find a place within their own territories. To all intents and purposes, the Pariah is as much in the hands of the caste people of this country as the villeins and serfs of the West were in the hands of the barons, 800 or 900 years ago, under the old feudal system of the Anglo-Norman kings.

HE HAS NO RIGHTS.

The real secret of the Pariah's present difficulty lies in the fact that by virtue of his position he has no rights that he can call his own. His only *raison d'être* is that he may, by servitude and hard manual labour, contribute to the support, independence, and luxury of some Sudra or other caste landlord, who happens, by accident of birth and wealth, to be one step above him in the social scale. And though in legal cases the Government, through its agents, is bound to recognise certain rights, yet so strong is the confederacy of interest arrayed against the non-caste village man, and so determined the opposition to his becoming an owner of property, that, in almost every instance in which the case comes before the Court, the judgment goes against the Pariah; and the reason is easily understood by even a casual student of the ways of Hindu land farmers. It is not altogether a question as between caste and non-caste people. Pious curses and fervent prayers are numerous enough among the Sanskrit texts quoted by MUIR and others from the *Rig Veda*. These leave no doubt that the "irreligious foolish Dasyees" were regarded long ages since with hatred and contempt, and Indra was besought to "scatter the servile host of black descent" as may be seen from the following invocation:—

"Indra and Soma! burn the Rakshasas, destroy them; throw down, ye two bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the madmen, suffocate them; kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demons. May they burn and hiss together, like an oblation of fire. Put your everlasting hatred on the villain who hates the Brahmin, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable."

NO EXCUSE FOR EXTORTION.

The degradation of the Pariah cannot possibly be regarded as any warrant for the enormous evils which are known to exist, such as oppressive usury, the mortgaging of persons for money, indiscriminate beating, false tenures, the seizure of crops, class privilege, and the rest. Take the question of bondage. It has been the boast for ages that whenever and wherever a Slave set his foot on English soil, or even on a ship flying the British flag, that moment he was free. But what are we to say now that it is shown that, under the powerful protection of English law here, in the broad light of day, within fifty miles of the seat of Government, there are hundreds of persons who are practically the property of others that have secured the right to their perpetual servitude, by advancing small sums of money either to themselves or their

parents, and who hold the agreement in the shape of a mortgage-bond. It is a fact that such bonds can be purchased in the Mofusil, in some cases, for a few rupees. But what becomes of the bond if, as is frequently the case, the loan is advanced at a high rate of interest per mensem? It soon becomes irredeemable, and there is little hope for the victim after a year or two have passed over his head.

A VIRTUAL LEPER.

In the villages, the Pariah everywhere lives apart. While the Brahmin and the Vellalan will occupy the same street, the Pariah is pushed across the fields into a separate settlement. He is a social leper, to whom the laws of entire and perpetual segregation must be rigorously applied. These Pariah settlements may be distant only a furlong, or sometimes nearly a mile, from the caste people's quarters. In size, they are found to vary from mere hamlets, of eight or ten houses, to large villages, with more than one hundred dwellings; but, many or few, the houses are always at a distance from those of caste people.

The Pariahs are, generally speaking, the servants or serfs of the caste men. Old books always refer to them as Slaves; and, though the name was probably more correct a hundred years ago than now, it is still, in many respects, a true description of their position.

Uganda.

PROBABLE EFFECTS OF EVACUATION.

THE views published in Captain LUGARD's late book* as to what might be expected to follow were England now to abandon that important and interesting country to the tender mercies of Mohammedan Slave-traders, and of rival factions of natives, are well worthy the careful study of those who really desire the welfare of Africa and her peoples. Surely this is a case where, having put her hand to the plough in the face of the civilised world, England cannot now "look back" and leave Uganda a prey to anarchy and the most cruel and destructive of civil wars.

ABANDONMENT WOULD INCREASE SLAVE-TRADE.

To Summarise the results which would probably follow an evacuation of Uganda (as regards Slavery). 1. The export from Unyoro and by the Waganda Mohammedans would be re-instituted when the barrier of our forts and treaties was removed. 2. The people of Toru would be re-enslaved by KABAREGA; indeed, the Soudanese would probably also become Slavers. 3. In the triangular fight between the three parties, doubtless vast numbers of captives would be sold into Slavery by the victors, or by KABAREGA if he overran Uganda at this crisis. 4. Usoga and the countries to the east would be approachable to the Arabs (as they never were before), and would constitute great reserves for the purchase of Slave for arms. 5. The various efforts which I have described against Slavery would be nullified. On the other hand, the establishment of a firm administration so far in the interior as Uganda would be of immense value as against the Slave-trade. For its influence would be far-reaching, and would re-act on the districts to the north-west, in which I have shown that

* *The Rise of our East African Empire.*

Slave-raiding is rampant. For though our administration did not extend over these countries, we should be brought into touch with them by our commerce on the waterways of the Albert Lake and the Nile. Nor less as regards the coast area. If British authority is properly administered along our seaboard, and a proper supervision and police maintained, our cruisers may safely leave those waters, for it should devolve upon the coast administration to render not only the export but the arrival of Slave caravans from the interior impossible.

WHAT THE BRUSSELS ACT REQUIRES.

The third clause refers to railways and roads "permitting easy access to inland waters." Unless we repudiate the obligation, we are bound by this clause to undertake railway extension; and what better line could be constructed than that connecting the great inland water of the Victoria with the coast? Hitherto, in speaking of the railway, I have confined myself strictly and solely to the commercial view, but I am at a loss to know how this national obligation can be evaded without national dishonour.

Finally, there is that great principle of consistency and continuity which it is absolutely necessary for a great nation to maintain in its foreign relations. Whatever may be the ups and downs of party politics, no statesman who has the welfare of our great empire at heart, but would deplore the introduction of a party spirit into our colonial and foreign policy, which it is essential should be that of an unbroken continuity. A Liberal Government inaugurated the policy of extension in Africa through LORD GRANVILLE. A Conservative Government consolidated and increased our possessions. Now, again, the time has come when a Liberal Ministry, through an exceptionally able Foreign Minister, has to decide on "the best mode of dealing with the country."

THE CONTINUITY OF MORAL POLICY.

The British Empire will survive, even though the peoples of Uganda and many other countries be wiped off the face of the earth. But the far-seeing vision of a great statesman must perceive that consequences far more serious will follow for Great Britain by such an act than any that may be involved in the accomplishment or the shirking of a mere moral duty *per se*. Europe stands by to note whether we mean to evade our solemn obligations undertaken in conference with the Powers. Aggressive nations, not too friendly disposed, watch to see if our foreign policy is to be a national and continuous one, or a policy dictated by party exigencies, a policy of vacillation or retrogression. On the bleak Pamirs, in Afghanistan, in Egypt, in Morocco, and in Siam we may look for the reflex action of our policy in East Africa; and so this little insignificant state of Uganda becomes "the straw which shows which way the wind blows"—a mere straw, we will assume, whose fate was of no moment, but sufficient to indicate the rocks ahead on which assuredly the ship would drift if left unguided by a master hand. LORD ROSEBERY is at the helm—a "strong man"—and his impressive words are on record: "We are bound to maintain that continuity of moral policy which Great Britain cannot afford at any time or in any dispensation to disregard."

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

Allusion has already been made to the Anglo-German agreement of 1890. That treaty was made largely to settle the then acute difficulty regarding Uganda. In order to secure this country to our sole influence we ceded the possession of Heligoland to Germany, the latter Power at the same time abandoning Witu and other claims on

the East Coast. If Uganda had been abandoned, what would have become of our *quid pro quo* for this European island? and how could our foreign policy, which in 1890 was willing to cede for advantages in East Africa a possession for which Germany would have paid a high price, be said to have any continuity if two and a half years later we were ready to abandon those advantages?

OUR DEBT TO AFRICA.

Captain LUGARD makes some excellent remarks upon our debt to Africa and its people, and it is interesting to note how far the natives of Uganda are ahead of most of the other African tribes. Reading and writing with them is a matter of course, and a written contract takes the place of the ordinary verbal and blood-brotherhood agreements. This in itself speaks volumes for the excellent work done in Uganda by European missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, though, of course, something was known of Arabic even in the early days of KING MTESA. In *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa* we find the following notice of an Arab secretary in the pay of the king. GORDON writes as follows:—

"MTESA has with him an Arab of Zanzibar who writes English, and who was brought up by the mission there. He writes to me in MTESA's name—a jumble of bits of prayers, &c., and keeps repeating he is the King of Uganda, &c., and the greatest king in Africa. MTESA has annexed my soldiers; he has not been annexed himself."

Captain LUGARD says:—

I have dwelt at some length on our obligations to Europe, and now I will briefly allude to our obligations to the Africans. These are in respect of treaties made in the country, as well as verbal assurances given that the British had come to stay, and would not desert the tribes who declared friendship with them. The tribes of the interior, for the most part, are ignorant of the nature of a written contract. This being the case, so far as I personally had a share in this treaty-making—and it was small—I adopted the method which offered the best parallel to our ideas of a "sacred bond in black and white." This is the custom of blood brotherhood, which other writers besides myself have testified to be the most binding form of contract possible among savage tribes. The chief having stated his undertakings in a formal speech, delivered by his most powerful auxiliary, and my native headman having similarly announced my pledges (dictated by myself), I reduced the whole to writing in the form of a treaty, and the chief made his mark upon it, being told that this was the European method of confirmation. The ceremony was made as public as possible; the leading men of the district attended, and in some cases neighbouring chiefs from a great distance were present and included themselves in the contract, one chief being chosen to go through the ceremony for all. I know that all or most "treaties" (so-called) made in Africa will not bear so close an investigation. I am concerned only with those in which I had a hand.

A WRITTEN CONTRACT.

In Uganda the case is different. There the people most fully understand the nature of a written contract, and consider nothing as absolutely final and binding unless put on paper. They are very clever and far-seeing, and every clause of the

treaty made was discussed for several days among themselves before it was presented in *baraza* for the signature of the king and chiefs. They fully appreciated that the protection of the Company was extended to them in return for the provisos to which they agreed. The treaty of April 5th was made (in accordance with my instructions) in perpetuity, and they were assured of the continuance of British administration.

A RESTORED PEOPLE.

Lastly, in the case of the people of Toru. Here the "unwritten word" bore the deepest signification. The treaty with the re-instated KING KASAGAMA is of the usual kind. But this country, it must be remembered, was overrun by KABAREGA's hordes, and the people ousted and enslaved. When I brought from his exile the son of the old King and re-instated him, he had at first but few subjects. On my return from KAVALLI's with the Soudanese, the people came flocking in, and the one question of their messengers was, "Are you come to stay? if so, we will gladly come under your protection; but if you go away and leave us after we have escaped from our exile or Slavery and have declared for you, we shall be massacred wholesale by KABAREGA." Of course, I told them the British would remain, for was not this our "sphere of influence?" administered by a powerful Chartered Company, who, in the terms of their application for a charter, were "prepared to subscribe or to procure such further amount (of money) as may hereafter be found requisite for the development of the said enterprise," and of whose insolvency I had no intimation. And so my pledge was given. The treaties concluded by the Company were (in accordance with clause 3 of the charter) submitted for approval. Of these, the first seventy-six are enclosed by LORD SALISBURY in a despatch to Mr. (now Sir G.) PORTAL, with the words, "All of these have received the formal approval of the Secretary of State, and among these is included the first treaty with MWANGA of Uganda. Seven more were subsequently ratified by the Secretary of State. It is said that "it is at present a moot point how far an approval of this kind can be held in any way directly or indirectly to bind Her Majesty's Government." By the light of the wording of the charter, however, and of LORD SALISBURY's instructions to Mr. PORTAL, it would certainly be inferred that they *are* so binding, and rank on the same footing with "treaties on the part of her Majesty's Government with the native chiefs binding them to accept British protection," which the Imperial Commissioner is told he "should make when it may seem advisable," in territories outside those already included in the treaties of the Company.

IN HONOUR BOUND.

But I think that all honourable Englishmen will scorn the assumption that it would be right to base our fulfilment of obligations entered into with the natives by a chartered company, and "formally approved" by Government on the technical quibble as to whether such ratification was binding as a point of law. In making a treaty with MWANGA, I stated in the document that I acted "solely on behalf of the Company." I was in every way within my instructions. The Company, on its part (representing the nation by its charter), approved the treaty and forwarded it for final confirmation, and Government finally ratified the treaty. Can any honourable man be found to deny an obligation on the part of the nation in respect of it—and similarly as regards my verbal pledges to the people of Toru, &c., fully set forth in my reports, which were likewise approved and communicated to Government.

A Caravan Journey in Africa.

WE have never read so lifelike and vivid a description of African travel as the following, from the pen of Captain LUGARD, in his late work, "The Rise of our East African Empire."* It appears to carry one into the very heart of that wild country, and one can almost see the birds and the beasts, as they swarm into the spot just vacated by the on-marching, heavily laden, but picturesque "Pagazis." The headings are our own.

There is a charm in the feeling of independence which a farewell to civilisation brings with it, and in the knowledge that henceforward one has to rely solely on one's own resources, and that success or failure depend on one's self. At rare intervals opportunities may occur of sending mails and reports to the coast, but between these times—few and far between—the tyranny of the pen is overpast, saving only for the daily diary and the mapping work.

SLEEPERS AWAKE.

Daybreak brings a stir among the sleeping forms; in later expeditions the Soudanese *reveille* roused the camp generally before the earliest sign of dawn. You tumble out of your last unfinished dream and your campcot, and substitute the realities of a heavy pair of boots, leggings, knee-breeches and karki jacket, with a pith "solar" hat, shaped like the substantiation of the ethereal halo round the head of a saint in a stained-glass cathedral window. You buckle around you the belt which contains your hunting-knife and rounds of Winchester ammunition, you fill your haversack with the paraphernalia which only long experience has taught you to select, a tobacco-pouch and pipe, matches, a small file, a spare foresight, a bit of bee's-wax, a measuring-tape, the road-book for surveying, a couple of dry biscuits, and a cloth cap (in case accident or design should keep you late), two or three small straps, a bit of whip-cord, a tiny bit of chalk, a small screw-driver, and I know not what queer knick-knacks besides, understandable only "by the trade."

AN AFRICAN SWELL.

The man you call your gun-bearer presents himself, and you proceed to dress him up like an (African) Christmas tree. The costume would delight our gilded youth at a fancy ball. In front of his loin-cloth he ties an untanned goat-skin to save him somewhat from the thorns and spear-grass, and the creepers he will have to brush through in the narrow path or in the jungle, should you diverge from the march to follow game. As he leads the way in the early dawn through the high matted grass, this skin will be soaked with the dew, and become as it was the moment it left its parent goat, and smell. Later in the day it will become a petrified board in the scorching sun. But to return to our Christmas tree. Over his shoulders we sling the haversack, the aneroid, and the prismatic compass, each with its separate strap; round his waist he fastens his own belt and hunting-knife; over this comes the belt and cartridge-pouches, containing the ammunition of the gun he carries; fixed somehow among these appurtenances is a huge calabash for water—his inevitable companion. In it he probably carries the balance of his day's ration of dry grain. If your caravan is heavily loaded, and his own gear has to be carried as well, he will have a bundle on his head or strapped across his shoulders, consisting of his mat, his little tent, and a bone or two of the last beast shot (probably "high"). Nailed on, so

* William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1893.

to speak, wherever he can find a few inches of space about his person, you will see a native pipe, a flageolet made from a hollow reed, a chunk of meat, possibly a cooking-pot, and other ornaments. Above all he shoulders your rifle, and "stands confessed," "a thing of shreds and patches" and whatnots innumerable.

ARE YOU READY? MARCH!

The dawn has hardly broken when we emerge from our tents to give the order to the caravan headman "to take up loads." These, during the night, have been stacked under the guard in front of the tents, and while you and I were rapidly dressing, the caravan *askari*, according to custom, have laid them out one by one in long rows on the ground. At the word there is a rush from all parts of camp; every porter seizes his own load, and he seems to have a dread lest it should be appropriated by another, however heavy and unwieldy it be, and carries it off to lash on to it his mat and his cooking-pot and his little all, and that done, to sit upon it and discuss the delicacy of a few roasted grains of *mahindi* (maize), or to gnaw the white bones of last night's *nyama* (game). Still in the grey dawn, while the *askari* are striking the tents, and the servants and the porters, who are to carry them, are tying up your bed and bedding, etc., and the other men adjusting their loads, we sit down to discuss a chunk of meat and a cup of tea—generally, in my own case, the meal which is to last me till evening.

AFRICAN SCAVENGERS.

Just as the sun appears above the horizon I lead the way, followed by a few *askari*. Every porter shoulders his load, the Wanyamwezi strike up their strange but musical chant, and in two minutes the camp, but now a scene of animated life, is deserted; the smouldering fires die out with the rising sun, and the infinite but silent life of the forest replaces the chatter and the hum of human life. Giant beetles come from every quarter to roll up into balls and carry away the bits of offal about the camp. Small mammals steal out to gnaw the bones on which but little is left by the savage. A gaunt hyena, looking suspiciously up and down, snatches at a bone and dashes back into the jungle. The *chiels* and the "Pharaoh's chickens," which have long been soaring in scores overhead, contract the circles of their flight, and the former swoops by with a rush of wings carrying off into the blue sky a bit of offal in his talons, which he proceeds to eat in the air; the latter settles heavily down, and walks around to see what loathsome filth he can find for breakfast. The ravens and the jackdaws alone break the silence, and tucking up their wings and walking about on tiptoe as it were, in that quaint way which only these birds adopt, converse noisily together, and make opprobrious remarks to the disadvantage of a *safari* which could not afford to leave behind them a better breakfast than this.

The Polynesian Labour Traffic.

A FALSE SYSTEM OF RECRUITING.

MR. R. S. MCKAY, writing from Brisbane under date October 18 to the *Daily News*, gives some very important information as to the mode of recruiting Polynesians under the new Queensland Act, and we believe that our readers will agree with us that the writer is perfectly correct in the conclusions he draws as to the inefficacy of the so-called safeguards. He truthfully and forcibly says that "*this traffic can never be conducted satisfactorily under the*

control of a Colonial Government; the interests of interested parties render it at all times difficult to make legislation what it ought to be."

We commend Mr. MCKAY's thoughtful letter to the close attention of all those who desire to prevent Slavery and the Slave-trade in every form. Where labourers are actually exchanged for comparatively valueless articles of "trade," it comes perilously near to the system of buying Slaves right out adopted by the Slave-traders in Africa and elsewhere. To us there appears to be very little difference.

MR. MCKAY'S LETTER.

(The headings are our own.)

SIR,—Again the question of employing Polynesian labourers on Queensland plantations has come to the front, consequent on the passing of a Government measure—the Sugar Works Guarantee Bill—which binds the State as security for 15 years for repayment of advances. The impetus given to the sugar industry by this adroit piece of legislation is stupendous, as it is a virtual assurance that, the State having an interest in the industry, there will be uninterrupted utilisation of South Sea Island labourers for at least the period of the guarantee—15 years. Recruiting is unusually brisk, and as now sugar-crushing mills are being erected in many parts of the colony, an augmentation to the present supply of cheap labour to handle the cane on newly-cultivated areas has become a pressing necessity: Islands previously closed against recruiting because of excessive depopulation of males have again been thrown open, and, though the Bill has not yet been received from the Upper House, or endorsed by his Excellency the Governor, several vessels have sailed with all speed to Santa Cruz and Tongoa Islands—the prohibited areas.

PROPOSED SAFEGUARDS.

When the question of employing Polynesian labour in the colony was under discussion about eighteen months ago, opinion generally, except among the planters in Queensland, was in opposition, and the traffic was freely characterised as "Slavery," "black-birding," etc. On solemn protestation by the then Premier, Sir S. GRIFFITH, that recruiting would be honestly conducted, under vigilant supervision of an experienced official, who would accompany each vessel, so that the abuses of the past could not be repeated, opposition was waived, and the sugar planters carried the day. Among other correspondents to your columns at that time was one "MARION DISNEY," who, in describing the recruiting system, implied that the "boys" (as the islanders are called) "are induced to go on the big ship, and once there, they are bound for the plantations." Probably the lady is correct as to recruiting elsewhere than in Queensland. From several years' residence in the heart of the sugar industry, as well as from special scrutiny of every place of the trade since Sir S. GRIFFITH promised absolute honesty in recruiting, I must conclude that system is not "half smart enough," as Jonathan would say, for the planters. They have a system that is a revelation, the more so that, despite the voluminous regulations that dog the traffic at almost every step, just where one bit of laxity is apparent, it is availed of openly under the eyes and with the cognisance of the Government agent, the enforcer of the law. It is not generally known that the vessels engaged in this traffic are the property of the planters who man each vessel, the Government agent alone being paid by the State. Before sailing on a recruiting cruise, stores—food and clothing—for the round voyage, which must not exceed six months, are taken on board. These stores are carefully supervised by the Resident Polynesian Inspector at each port of embarkation.

A LOOPHOLE IS FOUND.

But the vessel carries a great deal more over which there is no supervision, nor in the loading of which there is let or hindrance. A cargo of miscellaneous ware—called “trade”—representing in value £500 or £600, forms the most important part of the equipment of every recruiting vessel, and without which the business might be abandoned. These wares consists of knives, tobacco, pipes, tomahawks, needles, looking-glasses, long and short handled axes, Jew’s harps, earthenware armlets and bracelets, felt hats, gaudy-coloured handkerchiefs, strings of bright-hued beads, &c. Arrived at an island, the anchor is generally lowered when two or three miles from the coast. When the natives desire to recruit, or rather the “trade” boat to come ashore, they invariably show themselves on the beach or light a fire. The boatswain on the voyage to the islands becomes the “recruiter” when there, and he is the direct medium on behalf of the planters in securing “recruits.”

HOW THE TRADE IS CARRIED ON.

Operations are commenced by lowering two boats—the recruiter’s, containing one white man and two Kanakas; the Government agent’s, manned by two white men and three Kanakas. Each man is armed with a Winchester or Snider, the agent or recruiter carrying a revolver. In the first-named boat is the “trade” chest, containing a variety of the articles mentioned. These are gifts from the planters to the friends of recruits, and at first sight this seems a considerable move to assuage their grief at parting. The friends may choose goods to the value of from £1 to £3. Giving presents in this way is “a standing rule of the trade,” practised by the French, German, Fijian, &c.; all, except the British, including fire-arms and fire-water. As he nears the shore with the Government agent’s about four boat’s lengths behind him, he (the recruiter) turns his boat stern on to the beach, but does not land. His oarsmen are ready to pull off at a moment’s notice, and have their weapons ready in case of sudden attack from the natives. As the natives gather round, the recruiter asks them in pigeon-English if they wish to “volunteer” for Queensland. When one steps forward he is immediately followed by his friends for their present. Now the “trade” chest comes into requisition. The scene is exciting as they are handling the different wares, but midst it all, if the presents do not satisfy them, they will not allow their “boy” to leave the island. What follows? Almost within grasp is the recruit to be lost for the sake of a few more sticks of tobacco, another tomahawk, or string of beads? No, says the planter, who has provided accordingly; and the beads, tomahawk, and tobacco are given; the friends are satisfied and consent; then, and not till then, the “recruit” recruits. This is what the Government of Queensland and the planters uphold as honest recruiting! Physical kidnapping, strictly speaking, it is not, but certainly it partakes of barter, bribery, or decoying. It is the white man’s wares versus the black man’s body. The strange part is that no Queensland Act or regulation has been framed to deal with this feature of the traffic, and every vessel carries its supply of “trade” with as much regularity as it carries food and water. It is openly done, evidently with the support and protection of the law in the person of the agent, who would use his weapon if he saw interference with the recruiter.

AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE IMPERIAL ACT.

The Pacific Islanders Protection Act—better known as the Kidnapping Act of 1872 (an Imperial measure)—has the following: Section 9, Clause 1—If a British subject “decoys a native of any of the aforesaid islands for the purpose of importing or removing such native into any island or place other than that in which he was at the

time of the commission of such offence, etc., he shall be guilty of felony, and on conviction to the highest punishment other than capital punishment."

Again: Section 9, Clause 5.—"If any British subject ships, lades, receives, or puts on board, or contracts for the shipping, lading, receiving, or putting on board of any vessel money, goods, or other articles with the intent that they should be employed, or knowing they will be employed, in the commission of any of the offences above enumerated, shall be guilty of felony, etc." Does that Act not apply to this traffic? If it does, why is it not enforced? There is a fleet in the South Pacific Ocean, and why they have not seen that this evasive method of recruiting long ere this might fittingly be inquire into. Polynesian labour is the mainstay of the Queensland sugar industry, as "trading" is the mainstay of successful recruiting.

DUTIES OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

This traffic never can be conducted satisfactorily under the control of a Colonial Government; the interests of interested parties render it at all times difficult to make legislation what it ought to be. If the honour of the Empire is to be maintained the Mother Country has a clear duty to perform—to proclaim a protectorate over these islands in the Southern Seas; and if agreeable to allow transport of the natives to the mainland, to do so by means of specially appointed representatives of high integrity, wholly beyond the influence of the planters.

In view of the extension of the industry and increased importation of islanders mentioned in the early part of my letter, I leave it to you and the British public who cherish civilization and human brotherhood as something worth striving after, to say if the Australian colonists who otherwise bear a good reputation, are to be stigmatised as upholders of a nefarious system of muffled Slavery.

Brisbane, *October 18.*

R. S. McKAY.

REVIEW.

Rise of our East African Empire.

"EARLY EFFORTS IN NYASSALAND AND UGANDA."*

THESE two interesting volumes contain a mass of information which no one studying the present condition of East Africa can afford to ignore. At the same time we are afraid that the great bulk of the matter contained in the 1,200 large pages will almost prevent the general reader from studying this interesting question as it deserves.

The first six chapters of the first volume are devoted to a graphic and most interesting account of the war between the Slave-traders and the African Lakes Company at Karonga, on Lake Nyassa. By the accident of travel, Captain LUGARD happened to arrive on the scene when hostilities were proceeding, and was unanimously appointed commander-in-chief of the motley forces employed in the defence of the station against the persistent attacks of the Arabs. Here he very narrowly escaped with his life, having been struck by a bullet at close quarters, which entered the elbow joint (fortunately, without fracturing it), and, ploughing its way along the surface of his breast bone, entered the left arm, pulverising the main bone and fearfully damaging the wrist. Captain LUGARD's recovery from this extraordinary combination

* By Captain F. D. LUGARD, D.S.O. Blackwood & Son, Edinburgh and London.

of wounds must, under Providence, be attributed to the iron constitution with which he has been blessed. He returned to England in 1889, and published a short treatise upon the suppression of the Slave-trade in view of the proposed conference of the Powers for dealing with that question.

After two long chapters dealing with the Slave-trade and the arms and liquor traffic, from which we shall make a few extracts, the narrative describes Captain LUGARD's second visit to Africa, when he entered the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and went to Uganda in command of the company's forces there.

Want of space prevents our going into the question of the withdrawal of the Imperial British East Africa Company from Uganda and the handing over of the Government provisionally to Great Britain.

Captain LUGARD returned home in 1892, and Sir GERALD PORTAL was subsequently ordered to proceed to Uganda and report upon the position of affairs in that distracted country. That gentleman is now in England, and it is understood that the report which he has brought will largely influence the Government in its decision as to its ultimate policy with regard to Uganda. In the face of all the information which has lately been published we can scarcely believe that the British public will consent to the abandonment of the fine country of Uganda—the key of Central Africa—to anarchy and massacre, and the tender mercies of the Slave raider.

Persons desirous of informing themselves upon this important question should carefully study Captain LUGARD's interesting work, and those interested in the abolition of Slavery and the suppression of the Slave-trade, but have not an opportunity of reading the work itself, will be glad to see the following extracts which we are now able to lay before them, and with which we must conclude our short notice of this latest and, in many respects, best of the recent books on Africa.

PERMISSIVE FREEDOM.

The second method of dealing with the question of domestic Slavery is by granting permissive freedom. This can be effected by the abolition of the *legal* status of Slavery—that is to say, that in any action at law the court refuses to recognise the status of a "Slave," and allows to him the civil and legal rights possessed by any other class of the community. To appreciate this we must recall for the moment what the status of Slavery means.—(*page 179.*)

MEANING OF "SLAVERY."

A Slave is under special restrictions and is subject to special disabilities. He has no civic rights, and cannot sue in a law court. He is held to be the legal property of his master, equally with his horse or his camel. He can be severely punished for running away. If stolen, the thief must render him up, and is liable for theft: so also the master of a Slave is liable to others for the wrongful act of his Slave, just as you would prosecute me and not my horse if the latter trespassed on your estates.

ABOLITION OF LEGAL STATUS.

The abolition of the legal status, then, means that a Slave at once acquires civil rights. He can sue his master for ill-treatment. He can leave his master, and the latter has no power to seize him. A case comes before the judge, and the owner

pleads his right to capture his runaway Slave. The judge replies, "We know of no such thing as Slavery in the eye of the law." If the Slave has been ill-treated, the owner is convicted of assault and battery. Should a master seize a runaway, the Slave obtains his liberty and redress from his late owner on the same grounds. The holding of Slaves *as such* thus ceases, and the law treats the institution as non-existent.

EFFECT.

Slaves, on the other hand, who are happy and contented, and have no ground of complaint and no wish to leave their masters, remain of their own accord *in statu quo ante*. Such an enactment would affect the kind master but little; it would be most potent against the cruel one.

In thus advocating *permissive* freedom, we must bear in mind that Slavery has been an African institution for 1,000 years, and, if a Slave is kindly treated, he often has no wish to change his state, and has become so imbued with his master's rights over him, that he considers he would wrong him if he should run away. I have seen this even among the most intelligent men, and, in one instance, a Slave preferred to hand over half his pay to his master rather than purchase his freedom with one-third the sum he gave! For a discussion of the causes and remedies of this, see p. 484.

So long as Zanzibar was a Mohammedan State, under an independent Sultan of that creed, and under Mohammedan law, Slavery naturally existed as a legal institution; nor could England do more than bring diplomatic influence and pressure to bear upon the Sultan—instituting meanwhile repressive measures at sea, with a view to checking the import and export of Slaves.

FEASIBILITY.

Yet even before the Protectorate was proclaimed—so long ago as 1884—EARL GRANVILLE instructed the Consul-General, Sir J. KIRK, to lose no opportunity of bringing the question of the abolition of the legal status before the Sultan. The Consul had already pointed out to the Foreign Minister the advantages of such action, in inducing free men to come over to Zanzibar and Pemba without fear of being seized as Slaves, and thus creating a free labour market. It was again supported by LORD SALISBURY in 1889, who gave similar instructions to the Consul. The day, therefore, that the Sultanate became a British Protectorate, and our action was no longer confined to diplomatic pressure and repressive measures on the high seas only, the legal status ought to have been abolished, and such a moment would have been a fitting one, and less likely to cause irritation among the owners than if it were first recognised, and then suddenly abolished by the protecting Power.

It is a gross scandal that British officials should undertake the whole administration of the Sultanate, and yet recognise the legal status of Slavery. SIR JOHN KIRK, who, from his twenty years' residence there, is best qualified to judge on all matters connected with East Africa, and who is the greatest authority, living or dead, we have ever had on all matters connected with African Slavery, has given it as his opinion, that Zanzibar and East Africa are now ripe for the introduction of this great reform; and this opinion is supported by residents in the island, with knowledge of local feeling. Nor would any injustice be done to the owners, since, as I have shown, all slaves are to-day *illegally* held in the Sultanate. Simultaneously with the abolition of the legal status, a prospective date for total emancipation could be named, if thought advisable.

EFFICACY PROVED.

We are never tired of accusing Portugal of participation in the Slave-trade, yet the legal status was abolished throughout all Portuguese possessions in April, 1878.

This is the plan which we adopted for putting an end to Slavery in India, and so effective was its working, that no act of emancipation was ever needed, though its action was reinforced by various sections of the penal code. It was similarly applied to our colonies of Lagos and the Gold Coast on the West of Africa with entire success. It is the application of this short Indian Act to East Africa which all those who are deeply interested in the question so greatly desire, being confident that slavery would then (as in India) die a natural death. Nor does there seem to be any intelligible reason for refusing to the slaves in our Zanzibar protectorate the advantages of the clause, under which an Act that would be a penal offence against a free man is equally so against a slave. In speaking of slavery in India, I may remark (as it is not generally known) that there was at one time an import to India of African Negroes. The advantages of this method are, that its operation is gradual and permissive, and causes neither the social dislocation nor the friction of emancipation. It has the merit of having been proved efficacious by actual trial.

RIGHTS AS BRITISH SUBJECTS.

A similar scheme, differing in method rather than in operation, would be the extension to the natives of a British Protectorate of the advantages and rights of British subjects, I shall discuss more fully in the chapter on Administration (XLII., pp. 628, *et seq.*). Were these rights allowed to the African, we should insist on the same restitution and indemnity for the seizure and export of a Slave (being a British subject) as we should do in the case of a similar seizure of a British Indian or European. In the case of an African, for instance, who was a native of the Protectorate of Nyassaland being found in Zanzibar, he would not be rightly considered, as now, to be without domicile, but would be held to be a British subject beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of his own domicile, and therefore he would be held to come under the operation of the law, *not* of the State in which he chanced to be (Zanzibar) but of English law.

Captain LUGARD strikes a very prominent keynote when he shows that so long as we persist in allowing the recognition of Slavery in Zanzibar we place ourselves in a very awkward position as regards the proposed taking of Uganda under British protection. At the present moment Mohammedan law does not run in Uganda, and Slavery is not legal there, except under native law, which means the despotic rule of the King. By joining Uganda to the Zanzibar Protectorate, Slavery becomes recognised as a legal institution—a clearly retrograde and disgraceful position for England to assume!

LEGAL STATUS IN INTERIOR.

There is a further point in connection with this question of the legal status of Slavery. Though it is true that in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba we admit the legality of Slavery, since these are under Mohammedan law, there is no reason, in my opinion, why we should extend this admission into the interior, beyond the limits now laid down by international agreement as the boundaries of the Sultan's dominions. If we declare a protectorate over a country in which there is a civilised—even though oriental—code of law, by which law the status of a Slave is well-defined, and he is deprived of all civic rights, there may (or may not) be a valid reason for acquiescing in such a pre-existing law. However repugnant it may be to our sense of right that British officials should enforce the despotism of the owner over his Slave or

chattel, or that an appeal to a British official against the seizure of his goods, or against brutality and cruelty, should be void if made by a Slave, because he has *no rights*, and ranks precisely as his master's dog or horse—save that they are dumb animals and he is human—however repugnant to us this state of things may be, the fact remains that it is the case, and has been the case in the Zanzibar Sultanate any time during the last twenty-six years.

ONLY PERMISSIBLE IN MOHAMMEDAN LANDS.

For we were compelled *until the date of the proclamation of our protectorate* to recognise and conform to the laws and usages of a country over which we had till then acquired no right of control, and whose independence we were bound by treaties to respect. But I fail to see the morality or necessity of introducing this *legal* recognition of Slavery into countries where no pre-existing treaties or recognised law compel it. In such countries as are inhabited by purely savage tribes, and in which we have assumed a direct and exclusive control, the acknowledgment of a legal status of Slavery is surely altogether unnecessary and gratuitous. Indeed it was ruled by the Consul-General (Sir J. KIRK), many years ago, that no Slave could be the legal property of a Pagan, since such people could not claim rights under the Mohammedan law, which extended to Moslems only.

EFFECT IN UGANDA.

In Uganda, for instance, where an embryonic civilisation and law exists, cases arising out of the relation of the serfs to their masters are, or were in my time at least, dealt with under the native law, administered by the chiefs and the king. In such few cases as might come before me, I saw no necessity why I should recognise a legal status. The revolution effected in Uganda by the war, made any jurisdiction as I might choose to exercise in such a manner feasible and natural.

EFFECT IN NYASSALAND.

Such action would not involve premature friction, even with so powerful a tribe as the Angoni who practise domestic Slavery, for the cases which would come under the cognisance of the law, as appeals would be few in the early development of administration. In the case of Arabs and Swahilis resident in Nyassaland, and of tribes affiliated to them—who are for the most part Slave-dealers—the same thing would apply, viz., on the one hand, being resident beyond the limits of the Sultanate they could not claim rights under Mohammedan law, nor, on the other hand, would cases of appeal be frequent at first. When the administration had become more powerful and more able to act with a strong hand, law would become more effective and protection more frequently invoked. In a word, the non-recognition of the legal status, unlike manumission, does not involve the overthrow of existing social institutions in the interior any more than on the coast. Its operation is only invoked on appeal. The initiative lies with the Slave and not with the law. Hence its operation is *progressive* with the development of law and civilisation, and not aggressive and drastic.

INSTANCE.

A case in point occurred in Uganda. After the war several Slaves claimed protection. They were for the most part women, who had been captured from the Arabs in the fighting with the Mohammedans. Their status as aliens was altogether apart from the Waganda "Slaves," I enacted, therefore, in full *baraza* of the chiefs at the capital, a law, by which not only was the legal status of Swahili captives

abolished, but they were manumitted without ransom. Any such Slave appealing to me could obtain a paper of freedom and protection at Kampala. This was entered as a law in the statute-book in English and Kiganda. Some fifty, I think, had been set free under this law up to the time of my departure, and many of these accompanied me to the coast.

IMPORTANCE OF EARLY LEGISLATURE.

I have permitted myself to enlarge on this subject without apology, for my aim is to attempt, however inadequately, the explanation of some African problems prominent among which is Slavery, rather than to dilate upon my own doings which are of minor importance. And this question of the non-recognition *in the interior* of the legal status of Slavery—a status hitherto acknowledged on the coast—is a matter of supreme importance at a moment when African administration both in East Africa and in Nyassaland is in its infancy; and as we now shape our methods, so shall future administrators be compelled to act.

We are glad to see that Captain LUGARD has taken note of the various edicts issued against Slavery and the Slave-trade in Zanzibar. In 1873, at the instance of Sir JOHN KIRK and Sir BARTLE FRERE, the Sultan entered into a treaty with England, by which the Slave-trade was declared illegal, by sea, throughout his dominions, and, in 1876, he abolished the traffic by land. As this is now twenty years ago, and the life of a Slave in Zanzibar is computed to vary from ten to thirteen years, it follows that all Slaves now in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, with the possible exception of a *very few born in Slavery*, must be illegally held in bondage. In this case, the two edicts of August, 1890, possess but small value.

THREE EDICTS.

The third method of dealing with domestic Slavery is that hitherto adopted by us, viz., the issue of a series of high sounding edicts calculated to ameliorate the position of the Slave *if enforced*, and not merely produced for home consumption. Such edicts were all very well so long as Zanzibar was an independent Sultanate, but they are entirely out of date since Zanzibar became a British protectorate. The last of these edicts was issued on August 1st, 1890, and it embodies this kind of legislation in a most comprehensive form.

EDICT OF AUGUST, 1890.

This Edict, had it ever been really put into execution, would not only have *immediately* improved the position of the Slave, but, in course of time, would have practically put an end to domestic Slavery, and that without prejudice to the vested rights and claims of owners. It was, however, largely superceded by a secret proclamation dated twenty days later which annulled some of its most important clauses; nor am I aware that even the remainder of the act has ever been put into force effectively, so that any single Slave has gained his freedom in respect of it. I have called the subsequent edict "secret" because, over two years later (September, 1892), even the Administrator of the Imperial British East Africa Company had not been made officially aware of its existence, and, indeed, had only heard of it by rumour. Yet the Administrator, Mr. Berkeley, was Vice-Consul in Zanzibar at the very time of this second proclamation. It is said that the feeling in Zanzibar ran so high that a repeal of this edict was necessary to prevent a rising. If so, it only seems to me that a want of foresight was shown in promulgating it; but once

promulgated in a British protectorate, on a small island off which lay our men-of-war, it should never have been repealed, or, if repealed, the annulling edict should have been as public as was the first.

EDICT OF 1873.

The treaty of 1873, to which I have already frequently alluded, has not been effective in its results, since "There is little room to doubt that some 3,000 Slaves a year have been smuggled into Zanzibar. It has been ineffective, therefore, in the sense that there are as many in the island as ever, but it has formed the only check in operation against the Slave-trade, and has seriously hampered it. The enforcement of this edict lay with our cruisers, and the action of the Slave Court in Zanzibar when any cases of Slave exportation were brought before it. This was done most thoroughly and loyally by our naval officers and men on the one hand, and Sir J. KIRK on the other. The edict, however, of August, 1890, just referred to, and quoted *in extenso* in the Appendix, affected the status of Slavery in Zanzibar—the sale and exchange of Slaves, the right of self-emancipation and of appeal, etc. Its enforcement lay not with our cruisers but with our consular authorities, and it has been a dead letter—only recently the Sultan's own steamer, the *Kilwa*, was captured conveying Slaves."

EDICT OF SEPTEMBER, 1891.

A still more recent edict, that no labour whatsoever should be enlisted for service beyond the Sultan's dominions, is equally a dead letter (see chap. xviii). It cannot be too often pointed out that it is premature and ridiculous to go into ecstasies over proclamations, and to idolise their originators. The real crux lies in their application and enforcement, and the real credit is to those who achieve this enforcement. While we have been busy smothering the real state of the case in edicts and philanthropy, the Germans have taken practical steps to make it easy for Slaves to obtain their freedom. A writer from German East Africa (Magila) says that applicants can usually obtain their freedom, and even the *liwali* (Arab magistrate), can free any who have just cause of complaint.—(Vol. I. pp. 180 *et Seq.*)

INTRODUCTION OF MOHAMMEDAN LAW WOULD LEGALISE SLAVERY.

Zanzibar being a Mohammedan state under Mohammedan law, if British East Africa becomes a colony of Zanzibar, the question will arise whether in East Africa the Mohammedan flag must be flown and the Mohammedan law enforced. To the Christian Waganda, who have for years been fighting against the Mohammedans, the hauling down of the British and the substitution for it of the Sultan's flag, would be looked upon with feelings of absolute mistrust and apprehension. For, as will have been seen by a perusal of the foregoing pages, the Waganda set great store by a flag. This, however, is a minor matter, for since the idea of forming a colony to a protectorate is wholly new and without precedent, it would be possible to so far modify the flag (as is the case in our colonial flags), as to possibly deprive it of its distinctive character.

But far more important would be the introduction of Mohammedan law. Thereby *we should, for instance, legalise Slavery throughout East Africa.* At present there is no legal status of Slavery in the interior, beyond the limits laid down for the Zanzibar Sultanate, whatever may be said to the contrary. Will British public opinion tolerate that we should be the sole nation to introduce into Central Africa a legal status of Slavery? But assuredly we do so if Zanzibar law should be applied in East Africa. It is not, however, a necessity that the law of a protecting state should be introduced into its colonies. Thus Mauritius is administered under the old Napoleonic (French)

Code, Cyprus (a protectorate) under Turkish law, nor is the law of the Cape or of India identical with English usage. Zanzibar itself is an instance; for though a British protectorate, it is administered under Mohammedan law. But, it may be noted, that whereas, on the one hand, if East Africa were a direct protectorate it would come under the operation of the "African Order in Council, 1889," and, by the provisions of clause 13 of that act, civil and criminal jurisdiction would be "exercised upon the principles of and in conformity with" English law, and "according to the practice observed by courts of justice in England"; on the other hand, if it were to become a dependency of Zanzibar this clause would cease to apply to it, under the ruling of clause 4, which exclude all "local jurisdictions" from the operation of the act—Zanzibar being classed as such under clause 6. Unless, therefore, special exemption were made, the presumption is that East Africa would be administered under the law of the "local jurisdiction" of Zanzibar.⁹

I think the effect on the Arab mind would in all probability be injurious. In fact we place East Africa under their sway—at least theoretically; and such difficulties as have already been experienced in dealing with these people, who have an inordinate idea of their own importance, would certainly not be decreased by such a step.—(*Vol. II., pages 619, 620.*)

Coolie Labour in the Tea Gardens of India.

A MEMBER of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, now in India, has sent us a document drawn up by native proprietors of the *Sangibani*, Calcutta, detailing the present system of coolie labour in the tea gardens of India. This document, although now three years old, deserves to be brought before the British public, as it criticises from actual investigation the rose-coloured despatch of the Government of India, issued twelve months previously. Space forbids our making quotations from this startling document, but we can give a few of the marginal headings, which show the importance of the step taken by these native gentlemen to expose the real character of the labour traffic. The main argument appears to be that since the introduction of the Inland Immigration Act, in 1882, the

⁹ Witu, a British protectorate, has recently been placed—but only temporarily—under the Zanzibar protectorate. It has not been "reabsorbed," as stated by the *Zanzibar Gazette*, for it was taken over by us *not* from Zanzibar but from the Imperial German Government, whose protectorate it formerly was, in exchange for Heligoland. The conditions which have been made applicable to it bear out exactly what I have said in the text. The Mohammedan law, under which Slavery becomes legal, has been applied, so that it is even doubtful whether the 4th clause limiting it (*vide* Appendix III), would be operative against the law of the Sheria. The judges are appointed by the Sultan, and it is he, and not the Queen, who deposes the administrator of the district, and invests him with judicial authority over Europeans. The final appeal, even where Christian subjects are concerned, is to the Sultan in person and not to any of our High Courts; and we may therefore presume that Mohammedan law applies equally to all, European and native alike. Government, appreciating these anomalies, has placed Witu under Zanzibar *only temporarily*, as I have said; for, pending the decision regarding the rest of East Africa and the disposal of the Company, it was not easy to deal with it in any other way.

condition of the coolies has been far worse than before, and the death-rate has risen in a remarkable manner. This shows there must be something wrong in the carrying out of the Act. When the Act was introduced, in 1882, the rate of mortality was 37·8 per thousand, and in the six succeeding years the rate averaged 39·1.

Another marginal note states that : "The mortality among the labourers is much larger than that among the general population."

In Assam it appears that one class of Coolies, not under the Act, had a death rate in 1885 of 26·5 per thousand, whilst amongst Coolies who were under the Act it was 51·5. One reason given for this great difference is that the Coolies under the Act, being freshly imported from distant places, were not seasoned, but at any rate the process of seasoning appears to be a costly one.

It is stated by the compilers of the document that in Assam the mortality amongst labourers under the Act is twice as large as that among the general population and among the police force of the same country.

It must be borne in mind that we are only alluding to the general death rate, taking in the whole country ; but the compiler gives a most startling catalogue of unhealthy tea gardens, in which an appalling mortality takes place. We leave out the names, but in the year 1886, the mortality in thirty-five gardens (specified), ranged from a maximum of 270 per thousand to 101 ; but even this is not the worst, for they give the names of two other gardens in which, in 1884, the mortality rose to 594 and 552 respectively per thousand. Thus we have the startling fact, that in one year more than half the labourers on those gardens died. Nor does this take into account the numbers who are disabled and have to give up their labour.

CHILD MORTALITY IN THE TEA GARDENS.

The death-rate among children is, as might be expected, very high, one explanation of this being that a coolie woman being anxious to get back to her work, either has to leave her child behind, with no one to look after it, or has it tied to her back, exposed to all weathers and half starved, while she continues plucking the leaves.

Can it be wondered at that infanticide is rife where life is carried on under such conditions ?

While the death-rate has continued to rise since the Act came into force, the birth-rate has steadily declined.

Another fact calling for enquiry is that coolies engaged under the Act earn less wages than those who are free to come and go as they like, the inference being that the latter are more independent and are not obliged to stay in plantations that are unhealthy. We note further marginal references, which show that "even in gardens which are inspected, there is practically no check on the planter's power over the coolies"; also, "the inevitable tendency of the Act is to keep down the scale of wages." Again, "the wages given in the reports are admitted by the Government to be low."

THE TREATMENT OF COOLIES.

As we have before had to remark in discussing the condition of coolies in British Guiana, one great cause of oppression is the impossibility of the labourer, who is ill-treated, obtaining redress by going to head-quarters. All outlets are closely guarded, and coolies are not allowed out at night. Flogging, confinement in dungeons, and other forms of oppression, still appear to exist, and it is stated that the one day's rest in the week, to which the coolie is entitled, is often not allowed him.

Although unable to quote more fully from this important and startling document, we have given enough to show that the authors are perfectly justified in the conclusion at which they arrive—which is one at which the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY arrived many years ago—namely, “the coolie is practically a Slave for the whole period of his contract.”

Slavery and the Slave-Trade in Zanzibar.

To the Editor of "THE FRIEND."

“DEAR FRIEND,—I shall be glad if you will allow me a short space in *The Friend* to explain the position of affairs in Zanzibar, as regards Slavery and the Slave-trade. Most of your readers will know that the territory comprised in the Sultanate of Zanzibar consists of the island of that name, of the adjoining island of Pemba, one of the principal sources of the clove supply of the world, and a considerable strip of territory on the mainland.

“By virtue of a treaty in which England ceded the island of Heligoland to Germany, it was arranged that she should assume the Protectorate of Zanzibar, and, therefore, since 1890 the whole of that territory, excepting that portion occupied by Germany, has been practically under the rule of England, and only nominally under that of the Sultan.

“When England assumes the Protectorate of native States, she stands in the same position towards Slavery and the Slave-trade as though the country were a British Colony, and she has, on various occasions, exercised her right of declaring Slavery and the Slave-trade to be illegal.

“The non-recognition of the legal status of Slavery has invariably resulted, sooner or later, in the emancipation of Slaves in British protected territories. Unfortunately, in Zanzibar, this action has not yet been taken by the British Government, and although by a treaty between England and Zanzibar, made in 1873, the Slave-trade by sea was declared to be illegal, the only means taken to put a stop to this traffic was the illusory and always inefficient plan of endeavouring to capture Slave dhows by English cruisers.

“The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has always opposed the use of armed cruisers for putting down the Slave-trade, as, on the best authority, such a mode of action has never resulted in the capture of more than about one-twentieth part of the Slaves shipped. It also adds to the

suffering of Slaves, both before and after shipment, on account of the inhuman methods resorted to for concealing the presence of these unfortunates.

"The Society has maintained, since its formation, the maxim that the only mode of stopping the Slave-trade is to abolish Slavery itself, since where there is a demand there will always be, by fair means or foul, a supply. Armed force is of no use in stopping the open sore of the world, and is never advocated by the Society.

"Slavery itself not having been declared illegal in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar, the Slave-trade is still carried on in that Protectorate to a very large extent; for not only is the clove island of Pemba stocked with thousands of Slaves, who have to be constantly renewed owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, but a very considerable number of Slave vessels, mostly under the French flag, carry their human freight from Zanzibar to Arabia, Persia, &c.

"This scandalous state of things was pointed out by me in a letter to the *Daily News* in May last, and I asked how long the British Government were going to allow it to continue, and why it did not, as in other Protectorates, declare Slavery to be illegal? This letter produced a long and strongly-worded protest from her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, addressed to LORD ROSEBURY, and published by the Foreign Office as a Parliamentary Paper. The fallacies contained in Mr. RODD's letter deceived many influential organs of the English press, which appeared to consider that the writer was justified in accusing me of gross exaggeration, and of culpable ignorance of the state of affairs, whilst he entirely ignored the fact that Slavery had not been declared illegal under the British flag which was the main point to which I called the attention of the public.

"Mr. RODD's letter required a reply, and I have been compelled to write an exhaustive letter upon the subject to LORD ROSEBURY. It is, I fear, too long for your columns, but I forward you a copy, which is entirely at your service for review, and which, I believe, places the matter in its true light. To any of your readers who desire to inform themselves upon this subject, I shall be glad to forward *gratis*, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July-August, which will contain not only the whole of the correspondence above referred to, but a memorial from the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, forwarded to LORD ROSEBURY before Mr. RENNELL RODD's attack upon the Society was known. This memorial calls upon the Government to abolish Slavery in Zanzibar, and points out the inconsistency of such an institution existing in British protected territory. I may also mention that the same number of the *Reporter* contains a memorial sketch of the late EDMUND STURGE, with portrait.

"I am, yours very truly,

"C. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*,

"(*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*).

"55, New Broad Street, E.C."

Anti-Slavery Lectures.

DURING November and December Mr. FREDERICK C. BANKS has lectured for the Society at the following places : November 2nd, Young Men's Christian Association, Aylesbury ; November 6th, Baptist Chapel, Queen's Road, Erith ; November 7th, Unitarian Church, Islington (second visit) ; November 8th, Young Men's Christian Association, Dorking ; November 9th, Young Men's Christian Association, West Chelsea ; November 12th, Presbyterian Church of England, Tooting ; November 21st, Congregational Young Men's Literary and Mutual Improvement Society, Hitchin ; November 22nd, Baptist Chapel, Clarendon Road, Camberwell ; November 23rd, London City Mission, Eelbrook Hall, Fulham ; November 28th, Friends' Meeting House, Stoke Newington ; December 4th, Baptist Chapel, Paradise Row, Waltham Abbey ; December 5th, Young Men's Christian Association, Chelmsford ; and December 15th, Young Men's Christian Association, South Woodford.

Mr. BANKS' engagements for 1894 are :—

January 3rd, Primitive Methodist Church, Haringay ; January 4th, Young Men's Christian Association, Clapham ; January 9th, Young Men's Christian Association, Wimbledon ; January 18th, Young Men's Christian Association, Kingston ; January 19th, Young Men's Christian Association, Islington ; January 22nd, Young Men's Christian Association, Brighton ; February 1st, Swedenborgian Church, Argyle Square ; February 6th, Baptist Chapel, Mare Street, Hackney (second visit) ; February 7th, Friends' Meeting House, Bristol.

Obituary.

MRS. GEORGE THOMAS.

By the death, on the 16th November, of MRS. GEORGE THOMAS, of Bristol, the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY loses one of its oldest and warmest supporters. We extract the following short notice from the *Bristol Times and Mirror* of November 18th:

Many of those who remember the late Mr. GEORGE THOMAS will learn with much regret of the death of his widow, Mrs. ELIZABETH THOMAS, at Eagle House, Brington. Mrs. THOMAS was within six months of ninety-nine years of age. For some time past she had not been in very good health, and she died about ten o'clock on Thursday evening. The late Mr. GEORGE THOMAS, who died in 1872, was well known as the chairman of the Bristol Liberal Association, and also as chairman of the Charity Trustees. He was one of the founders of the General Hospital. Mrs. THOMAS took a great interest in all charitable societies and institutions in the city. She was intimately connected with the Guardian House, Maudlin Street, and at the time of her death was a member of one of the Hospital Committees. She was one of the most benevolent and charitable of ladies, and large numbers who experienced her personal generosity will sadly miss her. Her faculties were bright up till within a week of her death. Within the last three years she had attended the Friend's Meeting House in the Friars,

and she went about her garden very recently, but had not been in the city for about two years. Her sister (Mrs. Ridgeway) died at Redland last summer, in her ninetieth year, and she has another sister living in Charlotte Street, Park Street—Mrs. Rake.

THE HON. DR. J. C. PHILLIPPO.

WE regret to record the sudden death, on November 14th, of Dr. PHILLIPPO, President of the Legislative Council of Jamaica, in his sixty-third year. He was the son of the Rev. J. M. PHILLIPPO, whose active services in the cause of emancipation in Jamaica are well known to many of our readers. On several occasions the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY received the support, pecuniary and otherwise, of Dr. PHILLIPPO, who was a relative of the Assistant-Secretary, Mr. J. EASTOE TEALL.

SLAVERY AT ZANZIBAR.

ZANZIBAR, *November 1.*

News has been received that the captain and crew of the French dhow which was captured with sixty-seven Slaves on board, mostly children, in Zanzibar Harbour by Her Majesty's ship *Philomel*, in April last, have been acquitted by the Réunion Court, to which they were committed for trial for Slave-trading by the French Consul.

This has produced a profound sensation here, in view of the immunities for Slave running thus secured by the French flag.—*The Times.*

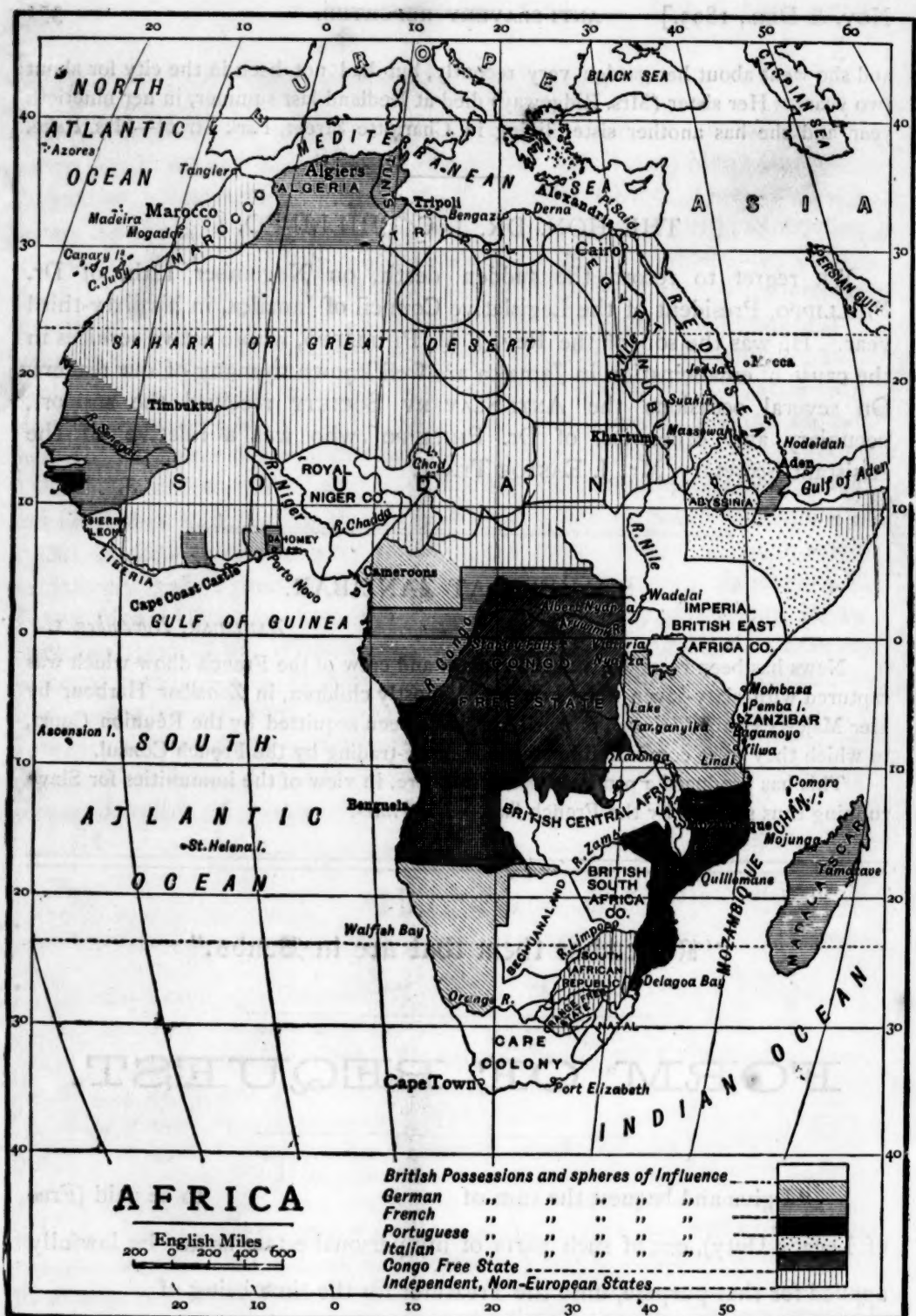
"Remember them that are in Bonds."

FORM OF BEQUEST.

"I give and bequest the sum of _____ to be paid (Free of Legacy Duty), out of such parts of my personal estate as can be lawfully applied for that purpose, unto the Treasurer for the time being of

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

to be at the disposal of the Committee for the time being of the said Society."



Stanford's Geographical London

MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

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